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ABSTRACT

This volume contains the second part of the proceedings of the twenty-sixth annual meeting of the Pacific Northwest Council on Foreign Languages. The focus is on second langauge teaching, and relevant linguistic research is included. The proceedings are divided into six major sections. Following the major addresses, which concern audiolingual methods and the future of foreign language instruction in North America, the papers in the general second language teaching section cover audiovisual aids, career education, the modification of foreign language programs, instruction in community colleges, and study abroad. The third section handles the panel discussions and workshops, at which high school instruction, community attitudes, information dissemination and the ERIC system, two-year college language programs, and teaching methods are discussed. A fourth section provides papers on specific aspects of French culture and methods of teaching it. In the applied linguistic section, the acquisition of grammar, idiom, and style is covered, as well as the teaching of advanced syntax, and native- and non-native acquisition of English in children. Papers on Romance linguistics, English verb morphology, French syntax, Russian aspect, and Spanish phonology comprise the sixth section. Appendices include the conference program, minutes, and administrative information. (CLK)

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SECOND LANGUAGE TEACHING 75
(INCLUDING LINGUISTICS)

Part Two of the Proceedings of the
Twenty-sixth Annual Meeting of the

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH
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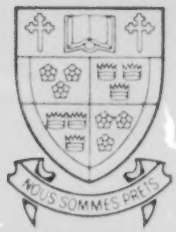

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Editors:
Hector Hammerly
and Isabel Sawyer

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THE MEANING OF AUDIOLINGUAL

Nelson Brooks
Yale University

Your speaker had a hard time deciding upon the best way to present his subject. Should he take sharply to task those who have misunderstood, misused, and debased the term in question, call down the wrath of Minerva upon all critics and detractors, winding up with the fervent rallying cry: "Audiolingual Forever"? Or should he take a forensic approach, with a vigorous setting forth of pros and cons, of prosecution and defence, in the manner of a Perry Mason trial, proceeding from an indictment titled "The People vs. Audiolingual" and appointing the present audience to be the jury and convict or acquit? Or thirdly, should he content himself with a calm and careful recital of the facts, correcting errors where they have been made and supplying information that up to now has not been generally available? This treatment would permit a review of what audiolingual was intended to mean, of what it has come to mean, and permit also a look ahead to see what it still could mean in a professional view of our work.

As the printed title suggests, it was the third type of presentation that was chosen. A rational treatment of the subject divides itself at once into two parts: an analysis of a natural phenomenon and the finding or coining of a suitable name for it. There is irony in the fact that language, one of the most venerable of all human traits, has been so long in designing for itself a proper wardrobe of semantic vestments. The words language, speech, and tongue all play their part when discussing the phenomenon in the large. But language is a highly complicated matter, and more discriminating terms are needed when only some of its many components are in question. However, let us leave the matter of precise terms for the moment and turn our attention first to the phenomenon itself.

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How old is language? How did it come into being? What was it like when it first began? Most of the conjectures offered us in the past are not very plausible, and the new suggestions that we may make are surely as good as any. We now know that man is far older than we had thought, and this leads us to conclude that language also is far older than we had supposed. It seems that we must give up the idea that man had to be man before he invented language. Instead, we will do well to recognize that what pre-man had to have was a set of traits, physical, social, and psychological, that permitted him to stumble upon language, to originate culture, and to start becoming man --all at the same time. Furthermore, we must acknowledge that the time lapse between then and now is to be counted not in thousands but in hundreds of thousands of years.

This line of thought is impressively developed by Susanne Langer in 1960 in a book entitled Philosophical Sketches and in 1971 by Jacques Monod in his work entitled Chance and Necessity. In 1936 Ralph Linton in a most useful book entitled The Study of Man states that the invention of language must have taken place at least a million years ago. Impressive also is the fact that George Gaylord Simpson's famous work entitled The Meaning of Evolution contains a chapter called "Man's Place in Nature", in which, in the first edition, dated 1949, there is no mention of the word language. But in the revised edition of 1967, the author has interpolated in this chapter several paragraphs about language, with a reference to a most appropriate book, Eric Lenneberg's New Directions in the Study of Language. In his added comments Simpson says: "(Language) is an absolute essential, probably the most important of all essentials, of the human condition not only because of its role in cultural inheritance but also because culture would not have arisen and would not persist without immediate communication by means of language."

What we need to bear in mind is that when these writers discuss language and its far-off beginnings, they are not referring to such things as manuscripts, or spelling or alphabets or hieroglyphics. They are talking only of something with certain specific and restricted traits, something that was fantastically enriched by a quite different set of traits within only the past few thousand years. During most of its history, language was what the mouth could say that the ear could understand. With the picturing of the sounds of language upon paper (or whatever was available for the purpose), let us say five thousand years ago, language continued to be what it had always been but it was now enlarged by a new dimension that had enormous range and power. We can't hear what the Greeks said to each other that long ago, but we can see a picture of it. What we need to note is that language without writing and language with writing are not at all the same thing. Yet, to be honest, we can't be very proud of the terms so far devised for making the distinction clear.

Upon the academic world the truth is slowly dawning, as Simpson's work suggests, that the very cornerstone of humanism is language, that it was language that first permitted man, in the earliest days, to rise above his animal state and to take a superior place among his fellow animals. It was language that permitted him to engender the new element in biological evolution called culture and to start out upon the long road leading to where we now are. But note that this was language only in spoken form.

For us, a general concern about language and its origins, its acquisition and its use, narrows down to the special concern about the character of the language to be used in gaining control of a system of speech other than one's mother tongue while a student in the classrooms of the schools and colleges of our country.

In the long history of foreign language teaching in America, two episodes and the reports about them merit our special attention. The first is the novel and apparently original plan devised and put into practice in the 1920's by Frederick Bliss Luquiens in the Sheffield Scientific School at Yale University. Luquiens, a distinguished scholar in the field of Old French, undertook the task of teaching present-day Spanish to Yale undergraduates. The nature and success of his plan are summarized in an article by him in the Yale Review of October, 1926, entitled "Jeremiad of a Modern Language Teacher." The significant feature of his teaching plan was that the student should not only learn to talk in the foreing language but to talk with confidence, to develop what Luquiens called 'pride-power' when speaking, for in this he perceived, and I think rightly, a widely available source of motivation. Luquiens by no means overlooked grammar. His brief "Irreducible Minimum of Spanish Grammar" had to be totally ingested by every learner who expected a passing grade. Yet in learning to use confidently the spoken Spanish that he had mastered, the student found a sufficient impetus to carry him through the drudgery that inevitably goes with learning a skill. Luquiens' course (three years with three class hours per week) was not easy for either students or teachers, but it produced results. The French department at Yale soon adopted a comparable approach to teaching French to undergraduates, so that a half century ago the active use of the target language in the classrooms was standard practice at Yale, and has remained so up to the present day. Luquiens did not use the word 'method', however, nor did he employ any special name for spoken speech as such.

Two decades later, Pierre Delattre carried out in his French classes at the University of Oklahoma a trial experiment that he called a technique of 'aural-oral approach,' in which the student was saturated with spoken French for months without seeing the printed text of the conversations he was engaged in. Delattre reported on this experiment in a double article in the French Review of 1947 entitled "A Technique of Aural-Oral Approach." This is a milestone document in which the author, being a scientist as well as a humanist, gives precise information about his plans, his procedures, and the results. His desire to distinguish vigorously between spoken and written language is only too clear, and this time there is a name for the former, Aural-Oral. Now, a peculiar feature of this new name is that while its two parts are easily distinguished in print, it is virtually impossible to tell them apart in the normal use of spoken American English. You know that both ear and mouth are referred to, but you don't know which comes first. This lack of clarity is misleading, for the ear is always the dominant organ in speaking, as Delattre recognized by always putting a-u-r-a-l first in his report. The phenomenon was now not only identified but it had a name, though not a very satisfactory one.

In the 1950's your present speaker, a product of the Luquiens concept both as a student and a teacher at Yale, well aware of the Delattre articles and of the materials produced at Yale as a result of the Army Method on the campus, was mulling over the use of the tape recorder and other

audiovisual aids in foreign language classes. It occurred to him that the term 'audiovisual', which had been in use since the introduction of the talkies in motion pictures in the late 1920's, should, for the purposes of foreign language teaching, be separated into 'audiolingual' on the one hand and 'visual-graphic' on the other because of the profound difference in these two forms of language. He proposed the word 'audiolingual' to fellow members of a Northeast Conference committee one day, but it was not very warmly received. Brooks went ahead and used it anyway. 'Audiolingual' as a printed word first appeared in 1958 in a U.S. Government document entitled Modern Foreign Languages in the High School, edited by Marjorie C. Johnston, which contains the text of a paper Brooks had written for a conference on this subject. The sentence in which the word makes its initial bow occurs in a discussion of the training of teachers and reads as follows: "For most (teacher) students the greatest needs are practice and improvement in audiolingual facility, to approach that of a native speaker, and practice in writing."

In his book Language and Language Learning Brooks wrote, in 1960: "Whether or not an individual becomes literate, the language he speaks remains throughout his life a dominant factor in his personality, the core of his inner thought, and by all odds the most utilized mode of contact with his fellow man. We may safely conclude that language has always occurred and always will occur chiefly in its audiolingual form."

A most recent example of the use of the word 'audiolingual' is to be found in a book published only a few months ago, a Festschrift in honor of our esteemed colleague, Howard Lee Nostrand. The book is entitled Essays on the Teaching of Culture and in it Wallace E. Lambert of McGill University has an essay which he named "An Alternative to the Foreign Language Teaching Profession". On page 74 of this essay we find the sentence: "The new field should provide a high degree of competence in the associated foreign languages, and well defined objectives such as the attainment of functional bilingualism, literary as well as audiolingual, should be clearly established."

In Webster's Third New International Dictionary, published in 1971, we discover among the addenda, page 52a, this definition: "Audiolingual - involving a drill routine of listening and speaking in language learning." What happened between Brook's first use of the word in 1958 and Lambert's in 1974, that our ponderous Unabridged should define in this fashion a word intended to reach back to the origins of human history?

Well, what happened is no secret, and we need only note a few highlights in the word's career. Once in print, the word soon became current among linguists and psychologists as well as among teachers, mainly, I think, because it served to distinguish in a convenient and authentic way between language in the air and language on paper. But with the coming of the NDEA in 1958 and the decision in 1960 to assign

the printing and distribution of the new government sponsored materials to a publishing company, there arose a need for a title. So the official name became "Audiolingual Materials" with the four words Listening, Speaking, Reading, and Writing prominently printed close beside. However, responding to an effect not unlike that of the green spectacles in the Wizard of Oz, many people see method in everything, and the quite inaccurate and indeed misleading and harmful term 'audiolingual method' came into use. This was, quite simply, too bad. Method is far too valuable a word to be used so carelessly and incorrectly. In the very nature of our language programs, audiolingual could never become a method, for who proposes to do without printing altogether? René Descartes set a high standard for the meaning of the word 'method' in his essay on the subject some centuries ago. In our work, the word 'method' is best reserved for the way a given teacher teaches, a highly important and very personal matter.

But the harm was done. Audiolingual became a method willy-nilly, and, because it was part of an ambitious attempt to put our students in control of a new language in three or four years of serious study, it had to bear the accusation of not being able to do this by those who failed to follow the recommended procedures and who expected too much in too short a time.

So, let's face it, audiolingual care to be called a "disaster" by those who did not understand and did not practice the directives of the plan to which the word was attached. Very well, what's to be done? Can a word whose meaning is definitely one of opprobrium ever climb in the value scale and establish or reestablish its good name? Well, it has happened. In classical Latin the word for horse was 'equus,' and the word 'caballus' referred to a nag, a creature of low degree. Yet we all know that in later centuries the word 'caballus' (the French reworked its form into 'cheval') was associated not only with the best of steeds but with the finest flower of manhood and honor. In the present day, what steps can we take that will regain for 'audiolingual' the meaning that was intended when it was first coined and used?

There are, I think, four important things to remember. The first is that 'audiolingual' describes what language was and all that it was during more than 99 percent of human history. Second, it describes what language is and all that it is for every human being the world over between the ages of two and five years. Third, it describes what language is and all that it is for by far the greater part of the adult population of the world, for the actual number of those who can read and write is much smaller than you would think. Fourth, audiolingual describes what language is, for the most part, even for those who read and write, for reading and writing, despite their supreme importance, constitute but a relatively small part of our daily lives in view of the totality of our language behavior.

There are two further characteristics of audiolingual that have so far never received the attention they merit. One is that audiolingual can never be separated from meaning. Even the linguists are now ready to admit that if it doesn't have meaning, it isn't language. There is a serious warning here for teachers who either inadvertently or deliberately have coached their students in the use of language sounds that were devoid of meaning. The other factor so often disregarded is best referred to by use of the word dyadic. This means, quite simply, two performing as one. We are familiar enough with this in games and sports, as in tennis or boxing, or in childhood pastimes such as the seesaw, where every action on the part of the one is the reciprocal of actions on the part of the other. In spoken language the dyadic relationship is indispensable. The psychologists have been slow to perceive this, and indeed many have been content to carry on their studies as if a single performer could give an accurate demonstration of what language in its essence is. Have you ever been talking with someone who left the room without your knowing it while you continued with your disquisition? And do you recall what a new and different aspect was suddenly taken on by the fine things you had just been saying when you discovered they had gone unheard?

For us, of course, the great question is what the role of audiolingual language is to be in the courses we teach. Before the age of twelve or thirteen, the answer is clear enough, for many reasons. One of these is that both halves of the brain are involved with language up to the age of puberty; after this time, however, only the left hemisphere deals with language, and language learning of any kind becomes harder. A quite different learning plan is therefore called for. Every normal child learns audiolingual language without effort, indeed as a kind of play. But learning written language, as we all know, is at any age something very different. The precise relationship between these two principal areas of language is still a deep mystery, for both clearly refer back in different ways to what we may call, to mask our ignorance, prelinguistic predispositions.

There seems to be no longer any doubt that language is in our genes. We talk for the same reason that we creep and walk. When biological maturation reaches the right point, these things simply happen. But note that we creep and walk quite on our own. We learn to talk on our own too, yet with this special proviso: we would learn first to creep and then to walk whether anyone else were around or not. This is not true of talking. We have to be in the presence of talk and engage in it with others in order to learn to do it.

If we are to conclude that language is in our genes, and such eminent authorities as George Miller, Eric Lenneberg, and Roger Brown all but say this, we must remember that the kind of language that is in our genes is audiolingual language. Written language, the visual-graphic, is quite another matter.

How does audiolingual relate to literature, surely a critical question for many in this audience? In two ways, I should say; one, which is dwelt upon at length by Luquiens, is that what many if not most college teachers yearn to teach is literature, and they are bored with language teaching as such. Yet as he points out, true literary studies of necessity presuppose competence in all the skills of language. The other factor is this: the better a piece of writing is, the better it lends itself to enhancement by being heard aloud. Haven't you ever encountered poets who insisted upon reading you their compositions?

Does the pervasive character of audiolingual mean that every plan for the teaching of a foreign language that is not based upon principles that provide for its being in considerable part audiolingual, especially at the start, is to be condemned? Surely not. The various facets of language and the widely different interests and capacities of students render such an attitude untenable. But we need to be forthright about what a course is to contain. As so often happens, an analogy with music can be helpful. Who would say that the listening audience and the musicologist are to be denied their importance while only the composer and the performing musician can be counted as truly competent in music? At bottom, it is a question of frankness and sailing under false colors. In the concert hall there is no confusion about who's who and what's what in relation to listener, composer, author of program notes, and the concert master playing at the first desk of the violins. Great is the disillusionment of the student who works diligently in a language course, perhaps for years, never hearing the target language, and who finds at last that what he has acquired is of no use to him in dyadic exchange. It is as if the student of musicology were led to believe that he could eventually take his place among the woodwinds.

There can be little doubt that this disillusionment was reflected in the minds of those members of Congress who, in 1958, voted for the inclusion of foreign languages in the Education Act because there was a promise that interaction in spoken speech would be included in the new program, and that the profession to which they were allotting significant sums of money could be trusted to bring about results that were desired and that they themselves had been denied. Such were precisely the things Luquiens had in mind in devising his plan symbolized by the term 'pride-power.' They were also what Delattre had in mind in his technique of aural-oral approach. These two men, each a scholar of the first rank in his own field, who turned their attention to the problems of language learning in the classroom merit our most respectful attention, and we owe them the closest scrutiny of the principles upon which they based their work. Neither of them, by the way, called what he proposed a 'method'.

As to our current word 'audiolingual' and the uses to which it has been put since its introduction, I submit that we will be well advised to let it revert to the meaning it first had: language in spoken form. Whether or not audiolingual language is to be an integral part of any

given course should be a matter of deliberate choice. But once we understand what audiolingual language is and what its relationship is to the total sphere of language, our conclusion must be that any course from which it is omitted can only be partial and incomplete.

After presenting these largely theoretical considerations, I beg leave to be, for a few moments, intensely practical, to enter the classroom, to indicate what a clear understanding of audiolingual can mean in terms of classroom procedure. Although the word audiolingual was never intended to designate any theory of learning or any "method" of teaching, the term can be useful in a description of the preliminary steps leading to a command of the four skills. For what it may be worth the following summary of essential procedures that coincide with the concept of audiolingual language is offered:

Instruction reflects the fact that all language has a spoken base.

When students listen and read, they learn to go directly from the target language to comprehension without benefit of English.

When they speak and write, they learn to go directly from pre-verbal thought to expression in the target language without benefit of English.

The teacher helps the student internalize what he is learning by encouraging "inner speech" in the target language.

In the beginning level, dialogue, continued narrative, and basic sentences are all useful. Dialogue is the nearest to normal speech.

Since dyadic exchange is basic to language acquisition and communication, the student engages in this as much as possible.

There are long stretches of class time (perhaps 20 or 30 minutes) when English is not used at all, or, if used, it is spoken only by the teacher and only to provide semantic meaning, to model a new technique, or, rarely, to clarify an especially difficult construction.

The teacher avoids asking the student what the target language "means" in English.

The translation of sentences and paragraphs, as an end in itself, is postponed until the latter part of Level II or until Level III.

There are seven different kinds of things that can be done in every language class: prelude in the target language; review of what has been learned; questionnaire; presentation of what is to be learned; structure drills; word study; writing exercises; preview of the following lesson.

There is a writing exercise of some kind in every class.

The teacher makes sure that all language has meaning for every student.

A wide range of classroom dynamics and techniques is employed.

The teacher respects an optimum order of encounter of the skills, shifting the major emphasis from the audiolingual to the literate as the course progresses.

A slower pace of learning is accepted at first, with the realization that control in depth will lead to a faster pace later on.

The teacher justifies the importance of memorization and insists that some things be well memorized.

In the earliest levels, there is structure drill (but not for very long) in almost every class.

In most subject areas, teaching and learning involve explaining and understanding. The study of a new language also includes: modelling, imitation, repetition, and the forming of new language habits.

Explanations of grammar are usually reserved for the latter part of class time when English is available to everyone.

When a new and especially difficult construction is encountered, the teacher may follow this sequence: meaning (given in English); model, with repetition, in the target language; explanation, as needed, in English; structure drill; personal application; free expression.

There is an optimum ratio of teacher talk to student talk.

The teacher dominates the text and modifies it when necessary, but in a way consistent with the approach he is following.

The teacher demonstrates the impact of culture upon language (as in the morphology of direct address) and shows that language is a lens through which the culture can be viewed (What is more German than German?).

At the start of the course and occasionally thereafter the teacher explains the methodology he is following.

There is a program of bi-weekly tests based on what has recently been learned.

The teacher exploits the human use of techno-aids.

The language course has three ultimate objectives: language competence, cultural awareness and insight, literary acquaintance.

The teacher views language teaching professionally and as a discipline in its own right.

To bring all this to a close, let us ask ourselves a pointed, even a disturbing question: Why a foreign language? The question may be divided into two parts, why do our students take a foreign language and why should they? Leaving aside for the moment the inevitable factors of requirements and parental pressure, I believe we can say that our students choose to take a foreign language out of curiosity, out of ambition, out of a promise of pleasure and utility, out of a precious urge to be useful, to be of service, and, by no means least, to pursue a career and to gain a livelihood. The reasons why our students should take a foreign language -- and these reasons we must supply for them -- are to broaden their intellectual horizon, to appreciate and maintain, in so many cases, the cultural heritage of their forebears, and in the case of everyone to gain a deeper insight into the nature of the human predicament. If we pass in review these quite valid incentives that bring students to our classes, consider how meager, how foreshortened, how inadequate would be our answer to their expectations if the audiolingual factor, the very lifeblood of language, were to be withheld.

QUESTION PERIOD

The question period touched on the lack of interest in foreign languages among students, the problem of the student who has so little exposure to a language that he attains none of the goals set out for him, the danger of creating inhibitions in beginning students by demanding absolute correctness in their responses, the view that adult language learners can have the same kind of success as younger students, and the value of the tape recorder as a teaching aid.

Dr. Brooks made the following points. There is a growing realization in the academic world of the basic importance of language, and this point will come to be appreciated by students. There are two prongs of attack in trying to keep students long enough with a language to gain some kind of mastery: first to make school counsellors understand the folly of counselling students into a language course and then counselling them out of it again, before the students have really gained any mastery; second to try to make the whole experience and the prospect of continuing as pleasant as possible; specifically, the teacher should get the student to the point of saying a good number of things with satisfaction, and also introduce him to the culture of the speakers of that language.

There is a contrast between the mother tongue, in which all of us possess at least the five levels of language described by Martin Joos in "The Five Clocks", and a second language, in which it is wise to learn a very correct variety to begin with, and leave casual usage to a more advanced level. However, if it is a case of

encouraging the student to communicate even at the price of a certain lack of perfection, it is better to relax the standard.

Dr. Brooks did not agree that there is no significant difference between the results obtained by adult and by young language learners. It was pointed out that this view, which had been ascribed to Dr. Ned Seelye, had been misstated; Dr. Seelye's point was that no one is automatically excluded from success in language learning by their age, not that the learning process and the kind of success are the same in adult and young learners.

Finally Dr. Brooks pointed out that the tape recorder is of most use at the college level, of limited use at the secondary level, and of no use at all at the elementary level. He has found that it is an excellent aid if the work of the laboratory is properly coordinated with the work in class.

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THE FUTURE OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING ON THE NORTH AMERICAN CONTINENT

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It is obvious that there has been a recession in foreign language teaching on this continent during the past six or seven years. The immediate causes have been the object of so much research, analysis and speculation that there seems little point in reviewing them once again. Besides, these temporary factors are difficult to disentangle from more permanent ones. There are, on the one hand, problems which arise from choices made at the top-level of decision making. These decisions represent a form of self-satisfied and exclusive imperialism easy to detect behind a window-dressing of reasonableness and practicality. On the other hand there are individual attitudes molded by public opinion. These reflect ignorance, that is, lack of information on the part of those who consider the study of foreign languages as a waste of time. They reflect also a kind of apathy, the refusal to make an intellectual effort which is difficult to accept, particularly by those who do not fully understand what is important for a truly humane education, that is to say, an education which teaches us to relate to our fellow men whatever their colour, race, culture or language.

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However the recession of the past six or seven years can be seen in its proper proportions when it is compared with the situation that prevailed before it and for a much longer period of time. In point of fact this continent in the past, tempted intermittently by isolationism, never felt a real need for enriching contacts with the world, for defining its own culture in relation to that of others, or for internationalism in linguistic as well as cultural experience. On the contrary, until recently, the social structures have always worked towards standardization designed to destroy original ethnic differences; these were felt to be vices that had to be forgotten if the new citizen was to have a clear conscience and the right to share the common prosperity. Some "prophets" have even tried to claim that the destiny of this continent was to speak English, as Tocqueville pointed out in the travel notes which he wrote in preparation for "De la démocratie en Amérique." Such a view overlooked the fact that at the birth of the young American Republic, which attracted all the democratic enthusiasm of the best part of Europe, it was only for want of a few votes that the official language for the new nation was not German.

An active interest in foreign languages was aroused artificially by the first Sputnik; the reasoning behind this movement lacked cogency and it continued to be maintained with the same lack of realism until the moment when the Americans succeeded in walking on the moon before they had had the time to learn Russian.

If we disregard this peak period, during which language teaching was generally highly favored and was the beneficiary of generous funding, it appears that the present situation is not as bad as it might seem. Since an interest in foreign languages could not find lasting support in the reasons put forward at that astonishing period in history, the present situation is at least in this respect plainer and healthier.

Granted, there has been a sudden drop in enrolments. But the extent of the drop has been proportionate to the artificiality of the previous boom. Besides, greater liberalism in planning school and university programs has not brought about such a decrease in enrollments as one might have thought. Wherever teachers are good and are attached to their field because they believe in it, enrolments are respectable if not increasing, an indication that quality and efficiency are still prized in this country, which is all to the good.

Finally, to put the statistical data in their proper light, we must remember that a generation has passed since the end of World War II. The high tide in the birth rate has long been left behind and we are now feeling the consequences of the low tide that seems to be remaining at the slack. This drop in numbers is rather the result of family planning, or more exactly, the pill, than of the quality of language teachers or of the value of their teaching. All those factors must be kept in mind if one is to be objective in interpreting the statistics.

Taking all these factors into account, it is perhaps possible, to maintain, without paradox, that language teaching has gained in depth and quality what it has lost in surface extent and quantity. Never before have language teachers been so well trained for their work and so aware of the problems as they are today. Your association proves this claim by its dynamism, and that is essential.

There may be fewer students, but they are better motivated. Such a situation, which should be productive of quality, could even be presented in an optimistic light if, in the often limited judgement of the dispensers of funds, quantity did not always prevail over quality.

And so, after a period of plenty, the language teacher faces once again some years of famine, and their austerity is the more painful because of the contrast with the years of well-being. He must accept the fact that lean years are more numerous than years of plenty, and be content with an ordinary diet, while striving to justify his role and restore its image, so as to retain something of the prestige which he once glimpsed but which soon vanished.

How can he defend his cause and compel recognition?

First, he should take advantage of the prevailing trend in the evolution of life-styles, of all that is now conventionally and fasnionably called the environment. In these final years of the twentieth

century, contacts between the peoples of the world take place on a scale and with a facility unkown before. It would be as absurd to believe that there will be a reduction in these contacts, and the annual migrations which bring them about, as to believe that there will be a reduction in the use of the mass-media. On the contrary, we are on the eve of seeing these contacts extend to the planets, an enterprise that will take only two or three generations to achieve.

Under such conditions, how can one fail to appreciate the serious effects on the coming generations of a language-teaching policy that is backward, unrealistic, reactionary and Malthusian? It is the responsibility of schools and universities to prepare people to live in a world which does not yet exist. We must anticipate that world in order to form people who will live in it and bring it into being at one and the same time.

In this perspective, to neglect language teaching now is to pave the way for future conflicts.

In certain quarters we can find an attitude which must be recognized and pinpointed if we are not to avoid the issue. Let us be frank: many English-speaking people are deeply convinced that the whole world is bound to speak English eventually. That being so, what need is there in the long run for the study of foreign languages. It is dangerous to nurse the illusion of a linguistically unified world. Such a unification, in the near future, could only be the expression of an imperialism which, considering the present trends within cultural or linguistic minorities, is not likely to prove acceptable.

And even if the educated classes throughout the whole world eventually spoke Chinese or American English, for instance, it is not the Chinese or the Americans in their relations with the representatives of the other communities who would have the advantage; it would be those representatives. Intellectual or charismatic superiority always belongs to those who can speak the others' language. A nation playing an international role or aspiring to one, therefore, needs to have educated classes sensitive to other ethnic and cultural groups because they know the idiom in which they express themselves. Ideally then, it should be possible to offer a wide range of foreign languages beginning in school, but, while still leaving room for individual choice, to control the wider options in such a way as to assure equal representation of all the civilizations with which the nation is in contact. This is particularly important for the elite who will be called on to exercise decision-making or executive power. Not to accept today these obligations of tomorrow means to accept the risk of seeing the next generation become provincial in its views, closed to the world, isolated; it means accepting a pernicious kind of intellectual suicide.

However there is another force at work at the present day. Young people, confronted with what is foreign, no longer have that attitude

of shocked withdrawal by which their parents condemned all that departed from the norm. A questioning to a certain extent of the traditional values of the predominantly Anglo-Saxon North-American civilization has led to a personal crisis of self-awareness among the younger generations, making them search for their identity in the often complex ramifications of their family-tree; they will acknowledge themselves to be Italian, Slav, Spanish or Scandinavian without giving up for all that their adopted Anglo-Saxon or even French heritage. In Louisiana, the descendants of the Acadians are rediscovering the fact that their mother-tongue is French, and in Montreal new Italian immigrants crowd into one of the cinemas of Ville-Marie to enjoy as it should be enjoyed Fellini's latest film. This attitude reflects a rapid psychological evolution. Immigrants of former generations had only one concern: to melt as quickly as possible into the common North American mold and forget, along with the miseries they went through in Europe on the material, moral, political or racial planes, the painful heritage of their origins. Having evaluated the seductions of the "American Way of Life" at their true worth, the most reflective and dynamic elements of the younger generation think it possible to accept the laws of this society without giving up the fundamental values of their original stock. This continent is thus embarked on the search for that diversity in which its true riches lie.

The new orientation is manifested in gastronomy as well as art. In a city of medium importance like Vancouver, British Columbia, there are over three hundred "exotic" restaurants; "typical" arts, Indian, Chinese, Slav or African are being cultivated enthusiastically, if sometimes naively.

In the United States, Afro-Americans have passionately rediscovered their black identity and the "soul" movement is one of its most visible expressions. People are no longer ashamed of their origins, but demand its recognition with the clumsy passion of a new convert. This love, unfortunately, does not always preclude violence, a violence which may be excused in the light of past humiliations, even physical abuse, and the refusal, which is still too often seen, to admit to the existence of such treatment.

Whatever their legitimacy, these tendencies would not assert themselves so strongly had there not been a general psychological evolution among the Anglo-Saxon majority itself. In fact, despite some traditional opposition, still very much alive, this continent is in the process of rediscovering the inestimable worth of human values. In this it remains loyal to its original vocation, a vocation whose worth it is seeking to restore.

A psycholinguistic factor may play an important role in consolidating this new orientation. The beginning of the twentieth century, if not the end of the nineteenth, encouraged the educated minority of the major linguistic groups who then dominated the planet to consider monolingualism as the normal linguistic situation of advanced nations. But this view

has no foundation in fact. Monolingualism has been a short-lived accident in the evolution of civilization. The educated classes of Europe, up until the end of the eighteenth century and even beyond, besides speaking their national idiom, knew Latin which for them was not a dead language. Latin allowed them to escape from inside national linguistic barriers in order to communicate with each other. In the modern world the new elites of Africa and Asia, as a result of their colonization and decolonization, are in fact bilingual, if not multilingual; they speak, besides their own vernacular, at least English or French as their language of communication. Recent studies have shown that bilingualism, far from being a handicap, is a powerful stimulus in the awakening and developing of intelligence. Furthermore, a no less powerful movement is beginning to claim for every child the right to elementary education in the language of his mother country. This movement is supported by the supranational authority of UNESCO. The possibility of programs of bilingual education thus becomes more and more acceptable and less and less controversial among those nations whose majority language can no longer assert itself by force of necessity.

What will be the results of these powerful currents of thought upon the evolution of the politics of education in Canada and the U.S.? We may suppose that, under pressure from minorities more and more conscious of their rights, there will be a growing recognition of their legitimate aspirations. The teaching of foreign languages, or so-called foreign languages, will be the beneficiary.

This continent is now face to face with a multiculturalism and multilingualism which it has never been so ready to recognize as legitimate. The intellectual elite are thus discovering the essential problems of acculturation and of contact between languages and civilizations. This discovery may be the spearhead of a renewed interest in the exotic in linguistics and culture, whether in a traditional field of study or a newly opened one.

The younger generation are weary with a way of life that is passively accepted by the generation that is passing, they dream of distant places, they are sincerely eager to find moral and intellectual enrichment in exotic ideas which promise renewal. It is all these aspirations that we must make use of to inspire in the young a more honest desire to understand others through their languages and finally to come to a better understanding of themselves. And then if modern language pedagogy has found more efficient approaches, teachers are sure to see their classrooms fill up again. It will be their job to see that these classrooms never get empty again.

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THE USE OF VIDEO IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING

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Before pursuing the use of videotape in foreign language learning, I would like to review the properties of video itself. My experiences with videotape and foreign language extend over the past three years. Our experiments have involved productions of varying degrees of sophistication, from simple one-camera, do-it-at-home sequences and tape series made on location in Scandinavia with portable equipment, to more elaborate color studio productions. Feedback on the usefulness of the various types of programming has been obtained from our beginning and intermediate language classes in the Scandinavian Department at the University of Washington. At times this programming has been used to supplement classroom presentations and at times it has been stored at the library as a reference tool. It would be possible to use the closed circuit television studios on our campus to produce telecourses, intended for at-home viewing by language learners.

Videotape is much like audio tape, in that it is magnetic tape on which a signal is electronically recorded. Videotape carries both an audio and a video signal. The tape may be instantly played back, erased, and re-recorded, with no loss of tape. Editing involves dubbing selected segments onto a second tape, which is set up on a second machine, the videotape recorder (VTR). It is also possible to dub an audio signal over a pre-recorded video signal. Most playback machines are equipped with a pause function, allowing the viewer to freeze an image for any length of time.

Although viewing a videotape is somewhat like seeing a film, some aspects of the media differ. A good image can be obtained on video using available light. Battery-operated, portable video systems are available under several brand names. These weigh approximately 25 pounds, and can be operated by one person. Video images can be recorded either in black-and-white or in color, depending on the camera and VTR available. Both reel-to-reel and cassette playback tapes are commonly used.

The expense involved with video is somewhat different than with film. Video equipment demands a rather large initial expense, but tape is relatively inexpensive. Tape width varies from 1/4"-2"; the image quality and cost increase with wider sizes. Of course, tape may be reused and is never lost in editing, nor are there any processing fees. Like audio tape, videotape will eventually wear out and need replacing. It is common to produce a master tape and use other playback tapes dubbed off the master.

Although the scope will vary from school to school, video equipment and technicians are already available to most college and university language teachers, and to many at the high school level. With this in mind

then, I would like to explore those areas of foreign language learning to which video might be applied to benefit both learner and teacher.

Too often, video has been used merely to record the blackboard teacher, making his presentation available to a greater number of students. It should be apparent, however, that the magnifying, dynamic and synthesizing properties of this medium lend themselves to meeting some crucial language learning needs.

Video can play an important role in aiding sound production. It is common to find students for whom the traditional listen-and-repeat approach to phonology is insufficient. Additional materials which can demonstrate the mechanical operations of the teeth, tongue and lips may prove valuable. Using video to magnify the image of a native speaker making these sounds could provide such a guide. Some students receive their initial exposure to the Swedish vowels, for instance, via tape, while others use such tapes for review material.

Magnification of the image serves another important function by establishing a direct contact between the native model and the student. This is especially valuable when the classroom teacher is not a native speaker of the target language. The illusion of face-to-face intimacy created through the medium compels each student to react, either verbally or non-verbally. At this point, the classroom teacher may choose to manipulate this reaction in the form of discussion, drill, or role-playing.

A very touchy area for most language teachers involves what Wilga Rivers calls linguistic competence versus communicative competence. Guiding the learner into manipulating his newly-acquired skills effectively can be facilitated by providing the learner with a dynamic image of the target language in use. Providing such target-language data might aid the learner's development along several lines.

One sign of communicative effectiveness is the assimilation of culturally-bound paralinguistic features such as facial expression and gesture. Via video, the student can observe native models using their language in a natural way.

Another sign of communicative effectiveness is the correct manipulation of idiomatic and grammatical structures. Those students who demonstrate difficulty in visualizing the correct use of such items might profit from the presentation of such items on video. A discussion of reflexive verbs can incorporate a narrated demonstration of a person dressing, washing and shaving himself. In this respect, video is related to the old "direct method."

It seemed to us, in our initial contact with video, that another route to perfecting communicative skills would involve dramatizing our textbook lesson on videotape; this approach has unfortunately proven to be higher in entertainment than educational value. Video dramatizations

could be manipulated by teachers, however, using what D.A. Wilkins calls "situational" classification. Vocabulary and grammar relate to settings such as the train station, the post office, etc. Certainly, video could be used as the vehicle for providing the student with situations such as these -- situations which parallel but do not replicate the text. This could stimulate the student to recreate a similar situation through role-playing or other teacher-directed activities. A sample of typical meal-time conversation, such as one we obtained in a mountain cabin in Norway, could function both as stimulus and model for a related student conversation.

Wilkins himself proposes something he terms the "notional" approach. Instead of mastering a set of vocabulary items and grammar points which have been built into an everyday "situation," the student is encouraged to master a set related to such communicative aspects of language as dissuasion, persuasion, obligation. He is reclassifying language learning priorities in terms of the psychological conditions of any given dialogue. Those interested in exploring this approach will find video an appropriate tool for presenting data on language interaction. By observing visual signals relating to the attitude of the speaker, students could glean vocabulary and syntactic structures which they feel to be appropriate to their own communicative patterns. By training students in perceiving nuances, and providing them with the model to select their own style, we may find the gap between their linguistic and communicative competence becoming narrower.

Regardless of our approach, we are faced with the problem of native-language interference for some students. Those students who cannot yet view language as a system, who cannot yet accept seemingly arbitrary structures, might find an early and vivid exposure to problematic items helpful. Assuming that experienced teachers do come to identify areas which tend to present such problems, materials could be produced which deal with these structures directly. Perhaps the tendency to translate literally could be compensated for by making the parameters of idiomatic and syntactic structures evident from context. A typical problem for many American students is their difficulty in relinquishing the progressive tenses. We have presented the Swedish equivalent of "What are you doing?", for example, in several different scenes, in order that the students might clearly perceive the Swedish expression.

In discussing some uses of video in leading the student from linguistic competence to communicative competence, I have been focusing on its potential of providing accurate linguistic data -- providing the native environment for grammatical and idiomatic structures. Video thus provides the stimulus and the raw material for communication.

We might speculate on the advantages of using visual clues to aid problem-solving. Although the relationship between first- and second-language acquisition is not at all clear, it does raise some interesting

questions. There is some reason to believe that the child may be fitting together cause-and-effect patterns between utterances he is exposed to and the real-life situations in which they occur. After carefully piecing together these clues, he arrives at certain hypotheses about the function and form of various utterances, and proceeds to test them out. As more data is provided, his hypotheses will be amended, rejected or confirmed. It is certainly within the capacity of video to provide the second-language learner with similar material. The utterance itself could, of course, be either the "cause" or the "effect" of a given situation. Encouraging the student to form and test his own hypotheses about the target language is possibly the most worthwhile form of language teaching.

It is obvious, then, that by providing linguistic data in the form of paralinguistic features, illustrations of a given point, everyday "situations," "notions" of meaningful communicative areas, contexts in which interference is squarely met, and contexts in which problem-solving skills are exercised, video is an important resource for the language learner interested in perfecting his communicative skills.

It is sometimes hard to present things to the language learner. It is especially difficult to teach many learners. Their needs and talents can vary; their strategies for acquiring the language can vary. The teacher who is faced with meeting these differing needs simultaneously should be aware of a third important aspect of video. By combining visual images with sound, video can synthesize the many aspects of a good presentation, including materials of use to many kinds of learners. This gives us the opportunity to integrate the various kinds of presentation which correspond to the various learner strategies, such as explanations, graphic illustrations, models for mimicry, in-context dramatizations, symbolic representations of systems, comparisons and contrasts. The format of video allows us to make a smooth, multiple presentation, which becomes an effective reference point for the student. In our introduction to vowel quantity and quality, for example, we have combined a number of elements -- the mechanics of sound production, the graphemic representation, the sound, phonemic pairs, an explanation of the principles involved, samples of connected speech, and a notion of the relationship between vowels. The entire presentation may take only ten minutes, but can treat many aspects of this topic quite distinctly. Reinforcement and anticipation can play an important role.

This capacity of synthesizing various visual and audio elements can be of use in our attempts to integrate cultural materials into the classroom, and to remind ourselves that a language is a part of its culture. Plays, interpretive readings, interviews, music and dance can illustrate the use of language on an artistic level, and provide another perspective for the learner. We have used a provincial song to introduce cultural information ... and have found that by adding visual materials, we can reinforce the meaning and spirit of the words.

As we become aware of the significant properties of video, we can

begin to explore its use in foreign language learning. We should bear in mind that, as an aid to sound production and by providing accurate in-context linguistic data, video is a resource for the student. By efficiently combining approaches geared to suit various learner strategies, video is a resource for the teacher. The chief advantages of video as a resource lie in its powers of magnifying, presenting an image dynamically, and synthesizing.

The logistics problems which video can solve ought to also be mentioned. The pedagogical skills of a teaching staff can be drawn upon for the benefit of all, and can be stored for future learners. Tapes can be accessible to students morning and night, for review, drill, and independent study. There is opportunity for unlimited practice.

As with other forms of skill acquisition, language learning is to some extent based on trial and error. Videotaping in the hands of the learner provides him with instant feedback on his own performance. He and his teacher can participate in an analysis of the problems and discuss recurring ones. By providing the opportunity for self-analysis, and a record of progress, video may eventually speed up the learning rate. Such a performance record, because it can reflect the ease with which the learner can communicate in the target language, has a slight edge over audio recordings, although its validity depends on the learner's familiarity with the medium.

It is my feeling that the properties of video which I have outlined above are creating for us the power to deal with areas of foreign language instruction which we have long been tempted to avoid. By providing the native model, by providing a bridge to communicative competence and by helping the teacher meet different learner strategies, video can be of value in learning and teaching. Because of its format, video is accessible, for reference and for feedback.

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TEACHING WITH FILMS: IS BBC ANY BETTER?

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My purpose today is to give you in as objective a manner as possible the results of our experience at the University of Oregon with the BBC Spanish language program, Zarabanda. I have no intention of presenting a theoretical justification for the use of the films in general. For me there has never been any question that films can contribute an authenticity to the foreign language classroom quite unattainable by any other means short of transporting students to the foreign country. The only real question, it seems to me, has always been: are the films any good? And, one might add, how should they be used?

I do not present the use of films as a panacea. It is now a cliché that the decade of the '60's has left us in our own post-Watergate mood, a mood which appears to be one of pragmatism: if it works it's O.K., and if it attracts students it's even better. This attitude, essentially one of cringing opportunism, is probably much healthier than the religious fervor of the '60's which insisted on dialogs and pattern drills regardless of their disastrous effects on student interest.

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Zarabanda first became available on the American market in the Spring of 1974, and is thus the most recent addition to the fairly small number of language teaching film programs. As you know, nothing is cheap anymore, and this series, available from Time-Life Films is $6,100 in 16mm. film and approximately one-third less for the video tapes. This amount seems exorbitant, probably because 1) we think in terms of our salaries and 2) we retain a kind of pauper's mentality. This amount spread over just five years amounts to about $3.50 per student per year. The cost of our varsity football uniforms, which generally last one year, is now, depending on the size of the player, $200.00.

Zarabanda consists of 25 episodes, each approximately one-half hour long, in color, available in video tape or in 16mm. film. Each lesson consists of three parts: 1) grammatical explanation and commentary by the two television instructors, both young and comely, one an English woman and the other a Spaniard who is unfortunately given to making outrageously male chauvinist remarks; 2) film sequences which are illustrative of the grammatical structures being taught and which are generally shown twice and 3) the so-called comprehension scene, usually about one-half of the film, which is not

repeated, and which serves to develop the film's plot and characters.

The plot of the film is as follows: Ramiro, a young mechanic from a small village in Spain, goes to Segovia to seek his fortune. Ramiro seems to have been endowed by nature with an exaggerated libido even for a Spaniard, and while not oblivious to monetary rewards, obviously prefers to seek them while in the company of young women. Ramiro's experiences in Segovia include troubles with his boss, and a number of affairs with women, most of which end disastrously. Ramiro unwittingly becomes involved in a plot to kidnap a deposed South-American President who has fled to Spain with all his millions intact. The scene shifts back and forth between Segovia and Madrid.

At the University of Oregon we are currently using the series on a rental basis, which restricts us to one day's use of the film. Because money for the film rental became available at the last minute, we were unable to plan a carefully integrated program. Instead, the films have been added to the pre-existing program, with most classes using the same textbooks. The main difference is the first-year classes now meet as a class three times a week instead of four, with the fourth class-meeting having been eliminated in order to free the student to see the film.

With these limitations it is obvious that the results of our experience with the film must be inconclusive. We have had no control groups and no test results to measure and compare student progress. Since we have decided now to purchase the series, we will have such results next year. In the meantime, I can give you my own reactions and those of our students and teaching assistants to this program, as subjective as they may be. But first it may be helpful to indicate the six criteria which I believe are useful in evaluating films. They are as follows:

1) variety and naturalness of the speech
2) cultural authenticity
3) appropriateness of the language employed for the level of language learning
4) technical quality
5) supportive material
6) student reactions

1. Does the film present a variety of native speakers, young and old, men and women of different social classes using the language in a nature way?

The authenticity and variety of the speakers in Zarabanda are outstanding. The only real weakness in this regard is that, in the comprehension sequels, one seldom hears the speech of working people,

a shortcoming which derives from the limitations of the plot itself. On the other hand, in the introductory scenes illustrative of grammatical points, people on the street are interviewed, including at times a park attendant, a bus driver, an antique dealer and a schoolboy. At any rate this is probably not a serious omission and it is debatable whether students should be exposed to very much non-standard language in the early stages. More serious, however, is the tendency of the plot to gravitate towards the favorite haunts of the young bourgeoisie, as if these were typical. At the same time the film does make clear that Ramiro is stepping outside his social class in forming some of his feminine attachments.

2. Do characters act and interact in a way that is consistent with the cultural mores of the country, in this case, Spain?

Within the limits set by the plot, there is no question of the film's authenticity. Students are presented with a very accurate depiction of the attitudes and manners of Spanish middle-class youth. There are a few criticisms which have been made. Ramiro himself is a mechanic, purportedly from a small village which has one telephone and no visible automobiles. Some students have wondered how he became a mechanic in such a town. Ramiro is also too much of a dandy to be a very convincing mechanic. There is considerable kissing in a wide variety of locales, and one Spanish woman on our campus is emphatic in her belief that such practices are not tolerated in public in Spain. It turns out that this person has not been in Spain in 12 years. My own experience two years ago was that the colorful displays of affection typically found in Paris are now increasingly common on the streets of Madrid, even if an older generation is scandalized.

A major objection has been raised about the films' male chauvinism, but this is certainly not a criticism of the films' authenticity. The objection is really to an aspect of Spanish culture. I also suspect that there is an objection to the use of a mild eroticism. There is no doubt that the film deliberately titillates the audience, though let it be clear there is nothing even remotely warranting an R rating . . . I must also confess that I personally have no objection to being titillated.

Zarabanda is very ethnocentric in its coverage of the Hispanic world. The film has been shot entirely in Spain, and Castillian is the only dialect employed. We have had no difficulty in spite of the fact that almost all of our instructors speak a Latin American dialect in contrast to the dialect employed in the film. In fact, I have heard positive comments about the resulting variety. The lack of cultural balance is a more genuine problem, which can only be overcome, at this point by the alert instructor who is able to point up contrasts such as the fact that the tortilla in Spain is an omelette and not a taco shell.

3. Is the language of the films appropriate for the first-year students?

I don't believe there is any problem in this respect. The series accomplishes the difficult task of keeping the language simple yet making it natural. There is a definite quickening of the linguistic pace midway through the series and the later films employ a language sophisticated enough to challenge many second-year college students. It is my belief and hope that as a result, first-year students exposed to Zarabanda will enter second-year with a higher level of language skill than they have in the past. At no time have we had any complaints that Zarabanda was too difficult. At the same time, a number of second-year students, including my own second-year acceierated class, have been seeing the films with benefit. This is not contradictory, for even when the language itself holds little new in a structural or lexical sence, the intonations, gestures and expressions of the speakers tend to fascinate students. It is possible that for high-school use the films could be spread over a two-year period.

4. The technical quality of the film is excellent. The images are quite sharp, even though there is some loss of definition due to numerous copying. The sound is also excellent with the exception of one or two episodes, but at no time is the sound a problem. The quality of the color is also very good.

5. Supportive materials are very limited. A student workbook is available and is useful, but in no way can be conceived as an adequate first-year text in itself. Tapes are available and they are of excellent quality. Both tapes and workbook are offered by EMC of St.Paul and indeed may be used without the films if desired. Completely lacking are slides consisting of scenes lifted from the film. Such slides are an indispensable aid to the teacher in exploiting the film with students. Without such slides there is no practical way to discuss in detail individual scenes of the film. Once a class sees a film several times, slides become more useful in eliciting active responses from students.

Herein lie both the greatest danger and opportunity in using films. Viewing a film is of course a passive experience linguistically, which is not at all to say that it is a useless experience. But we all know that true language acquisition requires active practice. The really decisive factor in the use of films is what happens afterwards. The oral or written recreation of events from the film by the students forms a marvelous basis for such active practice. Visual memories of scenes seem to fade fast, even if discussion follows immediately after the viewing of the film. Slides or still photographs help enormously in rekindling these memories and facilitating discussion.

6. Are the films sufficiently interesting so that they stimulate students to want to learn more of the language and the culture? Or more simply, do students like the films?

I want to spend a few minutes on this question because I think it is the most important. It should not be necessary to defend the question. Indifference to the subjective reactions of students would be disastrous for at least two reasons: 1) we may lose the students, and 2) even if they stick around, any text, technique or teaching device which turns students off will affect their rate of learning. Let us assume that student interest is helpful and the more the better.

The irony is that today's students for obvious reasons are the most visually sophisticated generation we've yet produced. They are more critical of what is presented in the guise of dramatic film. They demand more than earlier generations did from films. The heroics of a Hopalong Cassidy which stirred many of us leave them cold, or are viewed with amusement. The typical TV fare is often insipid and lacking in substance, but over the years there is no question that acting performances, direction and technical quality have improved.

Students seem to accept their textbook as a necessary evil, seldom questioning its value or quality unless encouraged to do so. But show a film and you will probably get a lively reaction of one kind or another. It has become a national habit, at least among the young, to follow the viewing of a film with some kind of critical reaction, even if only a few comments on the way out of the theater.

The film for teaching beginning language must stay within severe restraints with regard to the complexity of language, yet it will be judged by the same criteria as Saturday nite's first-run feature playing at the local Fox. This is perhaps less true if the film is a conventional language-teaching film with what amounts to nothing more than the acting out of dialog in front of the camera, in which case students do not expect too much and they are generally right. But a film which attempts a degree of drama will be subject to criticism of a different order than one which simply contrives to teach language.

There is another contradiction. Very few films of any kind can stand up to being viewed more than once in a small time span, yet language films must be seen at least several times.

In order to sample student reactions to the films, a questionnaire was distributed which asked students to respond to four questions:

1) How many films have you seen?
2) How helpful do you consider the films to be?
3) How did the films relate to the rest of your class work in Spanish?

4) Which of the following suggestions would you support for future use of the film?

a. the films are shown during a regular class period with discussion immediately afterward
b. each film is seen twice
c. the regular textbook is based more on the film
d. the films are not used at all and the class has a regular class meeting instead.

A total of 194 students responded. The breakdown of these results is as follows:

Approximate number of films seen	Positive (helpful to varying degrees)	Negative (not helpful to varying degrees)
(132) All or almost all	117	15
(40) About half	32	8
(22) Fewer than half	12	10
194 TOTAL	161	33

Total respondents - 194

If it is remembered that students have been seeing the films outside of class, that no roll is taken at film viewings, and that generally instructors have not given tests based on the films, the fact that 132 of the 194 have seen all or almost all of the episodes is a somewhat startling statistic. It should also be remembered that, for reasons already stated, the films have not been integrated into the total program. Given these circumstances, I consider the results of the questionnaire to be very encouraging. The fourth question, which asked for a choice of various possibilities, confirmed our own feelings as to what has to be done in the future. Students indicated a strong preference for alternatives a., b. and c., that is that the films are shown during a regular class period with discussion immediately afterward, each film is seen twice, and the regular textbook is based more on the film.

How Does Zarabanda Compare With Other Film Programs?

Existing film programs vary in quality. The first year German series Guten Tag, followed now by a second year course "Guten Tag, Wie Geht's," is an excellent program which has enjoyed notable success at the University of Oregon and at other universities, and even at a number of high schools. In French there are several programs available, among them "Toute la Bande," currently in use at the University of Oregon in first-year courses. The level of the language is such that it may be more appropriate for the second-year level. A new version

of Encyclopedia Brittannica, Je Parle, has recently been released and an initial previewing indicates a much improved quality. In Spanish, Encyclopedia Britannica has had available for some time its Level One La Familia Fernández, and Emilio en España at Level Two. We use the latter with our second-year students on a limited basis. The language of this series is quite sophisticated for second-year students, with the second half of the series of twenty-seven episodes posing quite a challenge to students. Their reactions have been unenthusiastic. The main objection to these films is that they are highly contrived and all the actors appear to have been given strict instructions to grin continously and broadly while in front of the camera. The viewer waits hungrily but vainly for one good scowl of the type that abounds in daily life. At the same time, the films have been shot in such settings as Avila, Toledo, Segovia and Sevilla and one cannot go too far wrong in such places.

How does Zarabanda compare to these programs? There is no doubt that Zarabanda is a big improvement. Despite the fact that actors' performances are sometimes mediocre, and that at times one is reminded strongly of Spanish made films best forgotten, there are clear signs of the technical excellence associated with BBC. But what makes Zarabanda so different is that it tells a story. In other programs if anything happens, it is clearly a contrivance to teach a particular language lesson. If Emilio comes to Toledo, he does so to teach a given set of vocabulary and if he were to end up by falling into the river Tajo, we couldn't care less. As a matter of fact, students on occasion have been overheard to suggest even worse fates for Emilio and his friends.

Zarabanda is the epitome of the soap opera. A small number of characters are caught up in a simple plot with the requisite elements of young love requited and unrequited, class snobbery on the part of disapproving parents, and a villainous kidnap caper mixed in. The young lovers are generally pure, at least initially, and the villains are generally evil, though all seem to be constantly engaged in 1) lighting cigarettes which emit smoke of special density and 2) sitting in cafes ordering an endless variety of drinks. One can only speculate on what the series cost in terms of liquor alone.

Like the good soap opera that it is, it possesses the all-important virtue: we want to know what happens next. Although the plot does not move fast enough to create genuine gripping suspense, what we do experience is more of a gentle curiosity: what will happen to Ramiro next? This all-important curiosity provides what I believe has been the missing link in language films. Its importance should not surprise us. We all know what a relief it is when students are finally able, in more advanced language courses, to read short stories and novels with characters and a plot. The feeling is one of assistance from a new source.

With Zarabanda, students have become sufficiently involved in the plot and with the characters that it is possible to discuss the latest developments in class, and to use incidents from the episodes as a basis for grammatical drill. The characters and the plot provide an excellent opportunity to teach vocabulary and syntax within a context which is both culturally authentic and interesting.

Everything considered, I believe that Zarabanda is the most exciting film series that has yet appeared. We are looking forward to experimenting with these films in a variety of ways, and we do plan to establish conditions under which the effectiveness of the film series can be measured.

I hope to be able to report these results in the future.

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FOREIGN LANGUAGES IN CAREERS

Wolfgang Dill
Oregon State University

Arguments advanced by our profession to justify foreign language study in the educational system are mostly too idealistic or too academic. In a survey of foreign language teachers in Oregon, which I conducted in 1972, an overwhelming majority of the teachers indicated that their preferred answer to the question "Why study a foreign language?" is "It enhances international understanding."[1] The second largest group of teachers valued foreign language study because it provides the basis for a comparative evaluation and understanding of our mother tongue and culture. In view of past and current international events, the first choice justification is at best wishful thinking, and the second justification will hardly motivate the broad public to support foreign language study in the educational system, let alone motivate many to subject themselves to the rigors of foreign language learning.

In order to render the idealistic and academic justifications for our discipline more credible and viable, they have to be popularized in the context of those unique educational values which our discipline offers in relation to everyday situations, problems, and needs. For that reason I endeavored to integrate second-language education with career education.

This seems to be a legitimate and necessary project if we define career education as the preparation of each individual to be successful in all life roles, i.e., the roles of a learner, citizen, consumer, producer, and family member. Even though I think of myself mostly as a literature professor, I am convinced that in addition to all idealistic and academic arguments advanced by our profession, the teaching of other languages and cultures must have something in common with where, when and how our students live and how they make a living.

In the beginning of 1974, I applied for and received an Applied Research Grant through the Oregon State Department of Education to work on the "Implementation of Integrated Foreign Languages and Career Education Program Goals." The major objectives for which I received support are the production of a transportable display and a videotape for career awareness purposes, and a manual for teachers to help them integrate foreign language and career education teaching goals and learning activities.

The teaching manual is the result of collaboration between Miss Loretta Wollett, chairman of the Foreign Languages Department at Cleveland High School in Portland; Mrs. Magdalena Ladd, Coordinator of the Foreign Languages Department at Clackamas Community College

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in Oregon City, and myself. It consists primarily of second-language teaching course goals and learning activities in the context of the following eight career education program goals:

1. The student is able to examine personal values.
2. The student values positive attitudes toward self and others.
3. The student knows the physical, psychological, and educational requirements of various life roles.
4. The student values positive attitudes toward work.
5. The student knows the value of leisure-time activities.
6. The student is able to explore career possibilities.
7. The student is able to prepare for a career.
8. The student knows the techniques for obtaining employment.

The many course goals and learning activities which we are suggesting reflect the traditional, humanistic ideals of our discipline in relation to the goals of modern career education. Thus, they provide a variety of new answers to the question, "Why study a foreign language?"

The videotape which I will show you right now gives answers to that very same question from people outside of our profession. Needless to say, since they do not have our bias or vested interest, their comments are more convincing to students, parents, and administrators than our own.

I produced this tape last summer with assistance provided by the Oregon State University Classroom TV Center. An original nine hours of videotape was edited to yield a 25 minute tape. This was accomplished under rather extreme limitations of technical apparatus and time. Nevertheless, the result seems well worth the effort in consideration of student reactions to the tape. Examples of written student responses are: "I think it's helpful for students to see this film to show them that they're not wasting their time in languages as far as particular careers are concerned. I'm glad I saw it." Or, "This film makes me thankful that I'm taking a foreign language and makes me feel that I should continue my language studies until I am fluent." Almost everyone of the many students who had seen this tape expressed amazement about the fact that foreign languages are actually used in many careers, and especially the foreign language students were appreciative for being made aware of the practical application of foreign language skills.

The videotape "Foreign Languages in Careers" consists of interviews with the following representatives of business, industry,

and professions in their "natural environment": the manager of an international airline; a stewardess on international flights and Ph.D. candidate for a degree in international air law; the manager of an international airport, talking about the airport police and hostess programs; a former governor of Oregon; the export managers for a large lumber industry, a machine industry, and an electronics industry, the vice-president of a textile industry and the regional manager for another textile industry; the Executive Secretary of the Legislative Trade and Economic Development Committee; a vice-president for international banking; a senior commercial specialist at a U.S. embassy; a banking specialist for South America; a TV intern reporter; and the Acting Chief of the International Division of the National Park Service.

NOTES

1. Wolfgang Dill, "Self-Assessment in Oregon Foreign Language Education," PNCFL Proceedings, XXIII (1972), p. 92.

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THE EFFECT OF TRANSCENDENTAL MEDITATION ON LANGUAGE LEARNING AND GPA

Dinah Dodds, William R. Knowlton, Gary Johnson
Lewis and Clark College

At the 1973 Pacific Northwest Conference on Foreign Languages, a paper by Roy W. Collier of the University of Hawaii was read which aroused interest and much discussion. It was entitled "Extraordinary States of Consciousness; Implications of Some Recent Experiments for the Field of Language Learning"[1] and dealt specifically with the effects of Transcendental Meditation (TM) on various areas of behavior, such as increased auditory and learning ability and improved memory. In his conclusion, Collier stated: "It appears inappropriate to believe that application of such states of consciousness techniques (as TM) would not enhance language learning capability."[2]

Collier had not done any research with University of Hawaii foreign language classes but, as he reported in another paper, entitled "The Effect of Transcendental Meditation upon University Academic Attainment,"[3] he had previously studied the effect of TM on the cumulative GPAs (designated GPR, or "grade point ratio" by Collier) of seven University of Hawaii students. All seven of his subjects in this study had been enrolled at the University of Hawaii for at least one semester before and after starting TM. As a control, Collier used the rest of the University of Hawaii student body because he found that "historical experience indicates that with the omission of the first semester's work the average of students' grades remains essentially level throughout academic experience."[4] However, in the case of his seven subjects, Collier found that "a rise of 0.17 in GPR can be observed the semester following the beginning of the practice of Transcendental Meditation. The data indicate a leveling of the GPR for the second semester and a continuation of the rise of the average curve for the third semester following the start of meditation."[5]

It was in direct response to Collier's two papers on TM that Dr. William R. Knowlton of the Psychology Department of Lewis and Clark College and I designed an experiment which would primarily measure the effect of TM on learning German. A secondary purpose of the experiment was to try to replicate Collier's study with respect to GPA.

The now quite bulky literature on TM research has indicated that TM often produces certain physiological changes in subjects. For example, Wallace and Benson[6] reported that during meditation, there was a significant decrease in oxygen consumption, carbon dioxide elimination and blood lactate concentration while there was an increase in the electrical resistance of the skin and the intensity of alpha waves. Although not as well documented, there are accounts of a variety of psychological and behavioral changes produced by TM. For example, Otis[7] reported

that, on the basis of self-report data from questionnaires, meditating subjects vs. controls, the meditating subjects tended to score higher in areas such as enjoyment of life, restfulness of sleep, happiness, energy level, sexual adjustment, reduction of fatigue, and creativity. The third purpose of our research was to assess some of these effects.

To accomplish these three goals, three sections of first-year German were formed into a TM group, a TM-like group and a control group.

The actual practice of TM is very simple. Two times a day for twenty minutes the meditator sits quietly and repeats an individually assigned "mantra," a Sanskrit word, in the manner instructed by the trained TM teacher. It is in part due to the ease with which the technique can be learned and the reputedly rapid results from its practice that TM has been the subject of a great deal of recent research.

The method used was as follows:

Subjects

The subjects were the Lewis and Clark students in my German 102 classes in the Winter term and German 103 classes in the Spring term. At Lewis and Clark we use the Guten Tag film series for first-year classes. Students attend the film and accompanying discussion groups two days a week in "speaking sections" where speaking and listening comprehension are emphasized. The other three days a week we break the class down into four small "reading sections" in which basic grammatical structure, reading and writing are stressed. The texts for these sections were Sparks/Vail Modern German (1971) and Ryder/McCormick Lebendige Literatur (1960). The students in my three reading sections participated in the experiment.

Procedure

In the Winter term, one of the three German 102 reading sections was designated as the TM section, chosen to be taught at 8:00 on the practical basis of its availability to the greatest number of students. A second section was designated as the TM-like section, chosen to be at 9:00 on the basis of its being the nearest in time to the TM section, and the third as a control section, which was taught at 10:00. At the end of Fall term, we informed the students about the designation of each section. The students then registered on a volunteer basis for one section. Ideally each of the sections would have contained 15-20 students. However, due to scheduling conflicts, the numbers in each of the sections were initially as follows: TM 16, TM-like 9, and control 11. There was a fourth reading section which I did not teach. Students not wishing to participate in the experiment registered for that section.

Distribution of freshmen vs. other classmen in the TM section was the same as the distribution in first-year German, i.e., 50% freshmen and 50% sophomores, juniors and seniors. There was no attempt at sex distribution. Initially there were 9 women and 7 men in the TM section,

9 women and no men in the TM-like section and 7 women and 4 men in the control, or a total of 25 women and 11 men participating in the experiment. These numbers are consistent with the proportion of women and men in the first-year language courses.

The TM section received training in TM on the third weekend after the beginning of classes. This instruction took place outside of class and was given by two trained, experienced TM teachers from the Students International Meditation Society. Starting with the first class of the fourth week, these students spent the first ten minutes of class meditating, in addition to their twice daily meditations outside of class. These ten minute meditations were discontinued after the first term when students began coming to class ten minutes late in order to miss the meditation and complained about the loss of class time.

The purpose of the TM-like section was to try to create a group which would have expectations similar to those of the TM group but yet have a separate treatment from the TM group. To accomplish this, the TM-like group was introduced to the general procedure of TM minus the individual "mantra" and the specific ritual associated with the TM initiation ceremony. The TM-like group attended the customary introductory TM instruction along with the TM group, at which time they learned only general information about the way in which TM works and some of its effects. Then on the same weekend as the regular TM initiation, I assigned the same arbitrary nonsense word "ah-ooo-mah" to all the students in the TM-like group. In addition I gave them some specific instruction on the use of their word, what to do if they were interrupted or fell asleep during meditation, and whatever else I could remember of my own instruction in TM the previous summer. Like the TM group, they meditated twice daily outside of class as well as the first ten minutes in class during the Winter term. The students in this group were given the same expectations as those in the TM group by attending the introductory TM lecture. They were also given approximately the same instructions for the use of their word, without, however, the knowledge that this word was specially chosen and not necessarily "right" for them, as is the case with the TM "mantra," and without witnessing the quasi-religious ceremony which accompanies TM initiation. The question here was the following: would they nevertheless demonstrate the same positive effects as students trained in TM in the normal way? Would their German performance improve as a result of the practice of the TM-like procedure?

The control section was taught German in the usual way completely without TM. However the class was dismissed ten minutes early during the Winter term to allow equal teaching time to all sections.

During the first day of class for all students, I administered the reading and writing sections of the MLA Cooperative Foreign Language Test (Princeton, Berkeley), form LB. The scores from these two sections were combined to form a composite score for each subject. I gave the same objective test to all sections at the end of the Spring term. The

post-test/pre-test score difference was used as a measure of the amount of German learned by each subject.

Current GPAs were used as a second measure. Although Collier used cumulative GPAs in his study, we felt that current or term-by-term GPAs would provide a more sensitive indication of even slight changes in academic performance. We compared Fall term GPAs of the three sections to measure possible initial differences and Winter and Spring term GPAs to assess overall academic performance as a function of TM training and practice.

As a "motivating" device to help insure cooperation, all subjects signed a written contract, which made specific their responsibilities, i.e., that they learn German to the best of their ability (all groups) and that they meditate regularly (TM and TM-like groups). For successfully completing the experiment, all subjects would ideally have received $10 at the end of each term.

However, due to insufficient funds, only the peer associates (explained below) were paid. We hoped that the accompanying effects of TM would be sufficient motivation for the members of the TM and TM-like groups.

Several additional procedures were attempted unsuccessfully. All students were to rate themselves on five self-report scales three times a week. These rating were on seven-point scales on IBM cards and were to be turned in weekly. The scales were: feelings of personal energy, of well-being, of self-confidence, of mental clarity and efficiency, and of satisfaction with interpersonal relationships. All subjects were also to complete a daily meditation log. It stated whether the student had meditated that morning or evening and rated the degree of pleasantness of the meditation on a seven-point scale. All subjects also chose another student with whom they were in daily contact to be a peer associate. The peer associates were to fill out independently the five rating scales and meditation log (minus degree of pleasantness) on the basis of their regular observations of the subjects. Because of problems encountered in reliably collecting the above data, no mention is made of it in the Results section.

Finally, all subjects completed an expectancy form. On a seven-point scale they answered the following question: "How great an amount do you expect to learn about German as a result of your participation in this experimental German class?"

To insure that I was not teaching the various sections preferentially, I asked one student in each section to keep a record of what had been covered in class each day. In addition, my colleague who taught the fourth, non-experimental reading section and I made up midterms and finals together and gave the same exams to all four reading sections and sometimes used the same quizzes. Moreover, there was some overlap of students within the various sections during the Winter term and more

during the Spring term. That is, in the 8:00 TM section -- Winter term -- several students from the control group were present: during Spring registration, the students could sign up for any of the three sections since the ten minute class meditation had been dropped and now all three sections were exactly alike. Thus in the 8:00 class in the Spring term there were students from all three sections present and the same in the other two sections. The effect of any preferential treatment was thereby nullified.

Results

During the course of the experiment there was some attrition. At the end of the Winter term, that is halfway through the experiment, six students either dropped German or transferred to another school (four from the TM group, two from the TM-like group). By the end of the experiment, another seven had stopped meditating or stopped coming to class, and thus their data had to be dropped from the experiment. At the end of the experiment the number of students in each group whose data were valid were as follows: TM 10, TM-like 4, and control 10.

During the last week of classes, all subjects were asked to have a short interview with Dr. Knowlton at which time they were given a question sheet asking about their experiences as participants in the experiment. During the interview, seven TM subjects and five TM-like subjects reported that they had experienced positive effects from their experimental participation, whereas five TM and three TM-like subjects stated that they had experienced either no effects or slightly negative effects. When asked if they would recommend TM to a friend, five TM subjects said yes, four no and three maybe, whereas five TM-like subjects said yes and three no.

Data gathered from the German tests did not indicate any significant change in either the TM or the TM-like group. Out of 160 possible points, the mean difference between the exams taken in January and those taken in May for the TM group was 34.6, for the TM-like group 29.0 and for the control 25.8, with the standard deviations 11.4, 23.3 and 14.4 respectively, indicating a high degree of variability within the distributions of each group. The statistical analysis was a simple one-way analysis of variance of the group means and was not significant. F was 0.88.

Data gathered from the students' GPAs were as follows: for the TM group the mean GPA for the Fall term was 3.22, for Winter 3.15 and for Spring 3.25. In contrast to Collier's rise of 0.17, the figures here show a decrease of 0.07 for the first term after starting TM and then a rise back up to about the initial level after the second term of TM Practice. For the TM-like group, the initial mean GPA was 3.21, Winter 3.42 and Spring 3.48, showing a rise of 0.26 from Fall to Winter and then rising 0.06 after the second term of TM-like practice. These data must be considered very cautiously, however, due to the very small number of subjects in this group: only three of the four final TM-like subjects possessed usable GPA data. For the control group, the initial mean GPA was 3.19, for Winter 3.05 and for Spring 2.97, indicating a fall

of 0.14 from Fall to Winter and again a decrease of 0.08 from Winter to Spring. Statistical analysis of comparative means for the Fall, Winter and Spring terms showed no significant difference. For Fall F was 0.02, for Winter 0.52 and for Spring 0.85.

The results of the expectancy forms again showed no significant differences among the three groups. The means for the TM, TM-like and control groups were 4.90, 4.75 and 4.30 respectively. In other words, regardless of which groups students were participating in, they expected about the same things to happen to their German learning as a result of the experiment. F was 0.52.

Discussion

In contrast to Collier's research regarding the impact of TM on academic performance, the present study suggests that TM does not affect academic performance over an extended period of time. While it might be argued that the size of the TM-like group was small, making it inherently difficult to obtain significant data from that group, the primary comparison between the TM and control groups, both of which contained a larger number of subjects, still showed no significant effect attributable to TM. Because these results were not significant, the importance of the TM-like group is greatly diminished for the interpretation of the data. There was a discernible trend in both the German test scores as well as in expectancy scores in the three groups: you recall that German test scores for the TM, TM-like and control groups were 34.6, 29.0 and 25.8 and expectancy values were 4.90, 4.75 and 4.30, indicating a possible relationship between what students expected to happen and what in fact appears to have happened. However, all the F values were less than one, which suggests that even with larger sample sizes, there still would have been no positive effect. An F of greater than 3.47 would have been required in order for the data to have been significant at the .05 level. (This means that there would be less than five chances out of a hundred that, if the experiment were repeated, these results would be proven to be wrong.)

In addition to these data some other observations were made. To the best of my knowledge, no data exist in the TM literature on the attrition rate of meditators. In this study, it was found that two out of the twelve subjects in the TM group, or 17%, completely stopped meditating during the Spring term and two of the seven in the TM-like group or 28.5% completely stopped meditating. In addition, the students' statements regarding their negative attitude toward their meditation experience represent new data, as the TM literature similarly keeps no record of such findings.

This was a pilot study, but one which should be of value to those wishing to design another such study. Suggestions for further research might include the following:

1. Such an experiment should not last longer than one term. For many students the span of interest is limited to one term.

2. On the basis of some students' indifferent or negative attitudes toward their TM or TM-like experience it is clear that the natural consequences of TM alone are not sufficient motivation for subjects to meditate regularly. Although the traditional method of paying subjects is very expensive if one also plans to pay the cost of TM instruction, which has risen lately, it probably remains the best method. If one attempts to increase motivation by having the subjects pay the cost of their own TM instruction, one introduces a factor of self-selection which would be detrimental to the experiment.

3. If possible the experimenter should not simultaneously serve as language instructor and instructor in TM-like techniques. This confounds the role of the language instructor.

4. Classes should be scheduled with the greatest possible availability to insure the highest possible number of subjects. The higher the numbers, the clearer the results.

Given the difficulties encountered during the course of the experiment, it is possible that, under different conditions, with, for example, greater subject motivation, different data might be obtained. I would certainly encourage and eagerly await results from another study of this kind.[8]

NOTES

[1] Roy W. Collier, "Extraordinary States of Consciousness: Implications of some Recent Experiments for the Field of Language Learning," Proceedings of the Pacific Northwest Conference on Foreign Languages, ed. Walter C. Kraft, 24 (1973), 59-64.

[2] Ibid., p. 63

[3] Roy W. Collier, "The Effect of Transcendental Meditation upon University Academic Attainment," paper received from Roy Collier, Dept. of English as a Second Language, University of Hawaii, 1974.

[4] Ibid, p. 4.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Robert Keith Wallace and Herbert Benson, "The Physiology of Meditation," Scientific American, 226 (1972), 84-90.

[7] L.S. Otis, "The Psychobiology of Meditation: Some Psychological Changes," paper presented to the American Psychological Association, 1973.

[8] This research was supported by a Lewis and Clark College research grant, by a supplemental grant from the Office of the President, Lewis and Clark College, and by a $10 fee reduction from the Student International Meditation Society.

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FOREIGN LANGUAGE SKILLS AND JOBS

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A colleague of mine is fond of recounting an encounter which repeated itself during his days in the classroom. In response to an eager young student's query, "What do I do, after I graduate, with my FL competence?", he would state, after several moments' hesitation, "Er...uh...well, I suppose you could always teach!" All but a few of us have been in this position, particularly those of us who never were prodded to give the matter any thought all through the euphoric days of the 1960's.

But as the present decade has progressed, this question has become a nagging one. Under the impetus of what people are calling "career education," and faced with a rapidly shrinking demand for all but the very best of our teacher candidates, we are being forced to come up with plausible alternatives to the "Had you ever thought of teaching?" response.

Occupational handbooks for FL students have existed for more than a decade.[1] These small volumes were adequate to show language students a range of occupations which could provide an opportunity to use a foreign language; they can still do that, despite the fact that segments of them are out of date. But, paging through them, one has the uneasy feeling that all this is quite unreal, for there is no concrete data coming from broad surveys indicating that company X really does employ personnel who were hired either because of language competence alone or because they possessed language competence in addition to other essential technical or managerial skills. In sum, this is not the kind of material which will cause a second-year language student to decide to pursue an extensive minor or a double major in our classrooms or through our study abroad programs.

Fortunately for those of us who are interested in providing our students and prospective students with evidence that FL skills do have something to do with getting jobs in the "real world," evidence is being amassed which does show this to be true. In fact it shows that American firms are looking for qualified personnel who possess language skills, and they are not finding them. Let us describe briefly the principal studies in chronological order.

In South Carolina, a survey was initiated in 1973 at the University of South Carolina, Columbia, in order to ascertain the state's needs for people with modern foreign language competencies, and to compare these needs with the foreign language competency of the graduates of the state's educational establishment.[2] Questionnaires were sent to South Carolina industrial plants which employed more than 100 people. Seven hundred seventy-four questionnaires were mailed, and there was an effective return rate of about 42 percent. Questionnaires were sent also to secondary schools, community colleges and four-year colleges and universities in the state to find out what languages were being taught, what the

enrollment trends and figures were, and whether the educational establishment would be able and willing to change if a need were to be shown for languages not currently taught or for language skills not presently being imparted to students.

In the same year, the MLA did a nationwide survey of business and industry which resulted in the much-publicized report "Foreign Languages and Careers," by Lucille J. Honig and Richard I. Brod.[3] This very valuable document is the first to supply comprehensive evidence of the need for foreign languages as an auxiliary skill in American business, industry and commerce, as well as in several professions and service fields. Several copies should be available in every language department as a basic tool for student guidance.

In June 1974 J. Colquitt and others working at the University of Dallas, Texas published a report[4] based upon returns from a questionnaire sent to over one thousand corporations doing a significant amount of international business. Though the rate of return was low, the data assure a confidence level of over 90 percent. The principal objective of this study was to discover what would be the US corporate demand for Americans holding an MBA degree in International Management, but several questions in their instrument asked directly about the demand for FL skills. This document is available through ERIC.

A survey similar to the one done in South Carolina has been completed or is very near completion for the State of Illinois. The results of this study will receive nationwide dissemination in the ADFL Bulletin in Fall, 1975.

Finally, a project funded by USOE is in its final stages at the Olympus Research Corporation, Salt Lake City, Utah. The project, entitled "Languages for the World of Work," is being carried out in three phases. The first phase, a literature study, has resulted in the compilation of a comprehensive annotated bibliography on the subject of foreign language skills and career opportunities. The second phase of the project has entailed a national survey of the business world, government and employment agencies to discover their needs for FL skills. This survey involves both a mailed questionnaire and a personal interview follow up of a small sample. The final phase of the project calls for development of FL curriculum materials and their pilot testing. The final report of this project, due on 30 June 1975, should be available through ERIC by September this year.

Before moving to a discussion of some of the finding of these surveys, let me describe briefly an excellent similar piece of work done by the British which could well serve as a model for future studies to be done on this continent. I refer now to "The Use of Foreign Languages in the Private Sector of Industry and Commerce," by Emmans, Hawkins and Westoby.[5] The study, funded by a grant from the Nuffield Foundation, is published by the Language Teaching Centre of the University of York, and will be available in ERIC as of June 1975. Similarly to the American studies

mentioned above, a sample of British firms (taken from the Times 1000 list) was surveyed to ascertain the demand for language skills.

The British project entailed two facets not present in American studies. First, an attempt was made to discover what use was made of FL skills by university language graduates upon employment. Although much of the very interesting data in this portion of the study differs no doubt from what the findings would be of a similar study done in the US or Canada, these strong reactions on the part of former language majors should strike a familiar chord: 1) There is need for greater emphasis on the spoken language; furthermore, language courses should be combined with commercial or industrial subjects; 2) outside teaching, there does not exist a career for which a language degree could be considered an adequate preparation; 3) there is an inadequate amount of career guidance given in school.

The second unique aspect of the British study was the systematic way in which they studied classified advertisements, appearing in four national newspapers, which stated the need for FL competence on the part of job applicants. Over the space of a year, almost 4,300 separate jobs were advertised which made some mention of FL skills needed. Among the data collected were: job category, salary, FL's specified, and level of performance in FL desired.

We are probably all familiar with the technique of seeking out classified ads from newspapers to document the demand for FL skills on this continent. But nowhere has the kind of analysis been done yielding the interesting information to be found in the British study. Ernest J. Wilkins, Project Director of the Olympus Research effort mentioned earlier, told me recently that such a survey is being done on a small scale by his staff, involving a search of the Sunday edition of 8 newspapers located in various cities throughout the US. He reported that on one weekend recently, sixty separate jobs were advertised which required FL skills.

What do the studies mentioned thus far have to tell secondary and college teachers of foreign languages? They tell us that FL skills can be important, even crucial in some cases, in successful job-hunting. But perhaps not as crucial as we would like. We are just becoming aware of a fact that Europeans and other non-English speakers have known for years, if not centuries: one has to know a foreign language in addition to having some subject area expertise. And in reality, it's the other way around: subject area expertise is more important to the employer than FL knowledge. In the words of Colquitt et al: "Technical ability was the overwhelming first priority, while ability to adapt environmentally was the second choice. Language ability was a close third choice with a significant number also ranking it second most important."[6]

The list of occupations for which knowledge of a foreign language may help a candidate is very long indeed. The Honig and Brod report catalogues the options here very well, and the Olympus report, when

published, will no doubt produce even more convincing evidence. An additional source in this domain is the ADFL Bulletin, which for the last several years has carried at least one article and usually many more per issue which deal with FL skills and careers.

We have traditionally thought that FL skills would be most useful in positions with US business abroad. Although this continues to be true to some extent, changing economic conditions have brought increasing numbers of foreign businesses to this continent, and there is a felt need in the business community to deal with these foreign industrialists in their own language. For example, the University of South Carolina study showed that over sixty percent of those businesses needing FL skilled personnel expected that foreign languages would be used while entertaining foreign representatives in that state.[7] Imagine the competitive advantage of the company whose executive was able to state: "Visiting foreign businessmen never fail to be pleasantly surprised when they visit our offices and find personnel able to converse with them in their language. Often they are swept off their feet..."[8]

The US travel industry is becoming very sensitive to the language needs of foreign visitors. The United States Travel Service has helped sponsor three programs to aid foreign tourists: the Multilingual Port Receptionist Program, Travel Phone USA, which offers nationwide toll-free telephone interpreter service in Spanish, French, German and Japanese, and a language certification program which supplies the names and addresses of hotels and motels providing language-competent personnel to its eight offices abroad.[9] Holiday Inns, Inc., has initiated a "World Understanding Through Tourism" program. In their pilot materials sent to innkeepers, HI management recommends the establishment of an "Interpreters on Call" program in each inn: "Among your personnel are probably some bilingual employees who can assist foreign guests. Identified by a lingual capability badge and listed on the Interpreter-on-Call chart these employees can become an important adjunct to your international good will team. The recognition received through this program will be a source of pride, and consequently, a valuable employee morale factor."[10]

Another fact the studies tell us is that the business community recognizes a need for Americans who have developed an awareness of foreign cultural patterns and who can respect these in their dealings with foreigners. Businessmen look to foreign language faculties to develop in students some sophistication in "way-of-life" culture.

Here are two examples from the studies:

"In interviewing firms we have found a lively appreciation that, for industry and commerce, more is involved in the study of languages than mere acquisition of language skill. There was a general feeling that learning a language should involve learning how the foreign community lived and what preferences and prejudices moved its members."[11]

"... it is equally important in our case that the individual be knowledgeable of cultural and social aspects of the audience in question and that he or she be respected by that group."[12]

What kinds of language skills are needed by business, and how well-developed should they be? The British study supplies us with the most complete information here, though we should be cautious about applying their findings to our situation on this continent. In both samples taken by the British study, the first three of seven rank-ordered skills were: reading, conversation and translation into English; one group placed translation into English in second place, while the other placed conversational ability in second position.

The British study of classified advertisements for personnel with language skills provides some interesting information about the level of proficiency desired, though these data should be considered cautiously for several reasons. In advertised positions calling for residence and travel abroad in French or German-speaking environments, fewer than ten percent of the positions required an "advanced knowledge" of the language in question. Over sixty percent called for a "working knowledge" of the language and roughly thirty percent called for a "basic knowledge." These data may be considered only indicative of the kind of proficiency desired by business, and need to be borne out by further study measuring language skills of personnel against a more objective "yardstick," such as the speaking and reading levels of the Foreign Service Institute's Language School of the US Department of State. The University of South Carolina study has made an initial step in this direction, but the data have not yet been sufficiently analyzed to provide indications at this time.[13]

Assuming that the majority of American businesses are also interested in a "working knowledge" of a foreign language in prospective employees, the University of Dallas study indicated that we in the educational establishment are not satisfying this demand:

> "...foreign language departments do not prepare their students very well in the eyes of the respondents. The moral response fell in the area "poor preparation" with only nine respondents indicating good or very good preparation..."[14]

The main purpose of this discussion has been to present some material from a growing body of research data which can show us about the demand for people who possess <u>bonafide</u> language competence in addition to marketable technical, managerial or other skills. Let me conclude by indicating how we might best utilize this information.

For reasons all of us are painfully aware of, our profession needs a public relations campaign, aimed at students, prospective students, guidance and administrative personnel at all levels of the educational establishment, and the public at large. For this effort to be credible, we first have to document the demand for our "product": foreign language skills and a knowledge of foreign cultures. Secondly, we must

be able to demonstrate that we can supply the kind of language and cultural competence which is being called for. I have cited some evidence above which shows that in many cases our "product" is not what it could or should be. This means we have to get to work to design instructional programs that will impart useable language and cultural knowledge. **Finally,** we must strengthen our own language advisement process so as to be able to help students complete their academic careers with the best chances possible of finding employment.

Although there is considerable interest on the part of national foreign language organizations in the kind of promotional effort mentioned above, it is obvious that each institution must build its own case based upon its own reality and directed toward its own constituents.

The documentation which we can now bring to bear in arguing the case for foreign language study is interesting in itself and can furnish us with persuasive arguments. With it, we should be able to be increasingly convincing in our efforts to persuade students and prospective students that the "real world" recognizes, appreciates and rewards those who possess FL competence in addition to other marketable job skills.

NOTES

1 Two of the most widely available appear below. A revised edition of the Sherif volume is to appear later in 1975.

Angelo Cohn, Careers with Foreign Languages (New York: Harvy Z. Walck, Inc., 1963).

Jane L. Sherif, Handbook of Foreign Language Occupations (New York: Regents Publishing Co., Inc., 1966).

2 Louis H. Parks, "Progress Report on the Market for Foreign Languages Study," University of South Carolina College of Business (mimeo), n.d. to appear in ERIC .

3 Lucille J. Honig and Richard I. Brod, "Foreign Languages and Careers," The Modern Language Journal, 58 (April, 1974), pp. 157-185.

4 J. Colquitt, et al, "An Analysis of Multinational Corporations' Perception of their Requirement for International M.B.A. Degree Holders," University of Dallas International Institute (mimeo), 1974. Available from EDRS: ED 096 836 .

5 Keith Emmans, Eric Hawkins and Adam Westoby, The Use of Foreign Languages in the Private Sector of Industry and Commerce (University of York: Language Teaching Center, 1974). Available from EDRS: FL 006 653 .

6 Colquitt, et al, Preface, n.p.

7 Parks, p. 3.

[8] Honig and Brod, p. 164.

[9] Honig and Brod, p. 179.

[10] A promotional package describing this program is available from: Mrs. Connie Kruger, Program Coordinator, World Understanding Through Tourism, Holiday Inns, Inc., 3754 Lamar Ave., Memphis, TN 38118.

[11] Emmans, et al, p. 86.

[12] Honig and Brod, p. 172.

[13] Parks, pp. 4-6.

[14] Colquitt, et al, Preface, n.p.

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INSERVICE TRAINING IN LOW DENSITY POPULATION AREAS

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HISTORY

The history of foreign language teacher retraining in Montana is probably similar to that of much of the United States, paralleling trends but differing in degree of exposure. The big push came with the summer workshops funded by the National Defense Education Act in which certified teachers were retrained and indoctrinated to work with the freshly developed audiolingual materials. These summer institutes, which blossomed everywhere in the United States, flowered in Montana as well. They were attended by Montana teachers and made a major impact during the period from 1959-1962, especially when coupled with the NDEA money to buy language laboratories and materials. The early era of NDEA also marked the initiation of the position of foreign language supervisor for the State of Montana in 1959.

As NDEA monies dried up, retraining of teachers reverted primarily to initiatives of foreign language faculties at the various Montana schools of higher education. Occasionally an inservice workshop was organized by the state foreign language supervisor. Such workshops were developed on the basis of the supervisor's perceptions of teacher needs. Training sessions were Saturdays. Attendance was voluntary and irregular. At this time the role of the state foreign language supervisor was attenuated as federal funding eroded. Retention of the position with state monies imposed other duties as the language specialist started the trend to generalism.

EVOLUTION OF PRESENT PROGRAM

In December, 1972, spurred by such things as a critical self evaluation of existing services, a critical evaluation of existing locally sponsored inservice education and orientation, a belief in teacher participation in design of inservice education and a desire to achieve greater efficiency in travel, a number of my colleagues and I were called upon to brainstorm ways of doing a better job more efficiently. A program which we now simply name "Regional Workshops" evolved.

THE IMPLICATIONS FOR FOREIGN LANGUAGE INSERVICE EDUCATION

Although not complete, the preceding overview of the entire regional workshop program is a necessary part of the discussion of inservice training for foreign language. As the state foreign language supervisor, funded by state funds, I am of necessity a "generalist." I must work on other programs within the office. Of such other programs I can hardly imagine a more practical one than the regional workshop program outlined.

It might be useful at this point to speak to the profile of the Montana secondary foreign language teacher. In a survey conducted in March of 1974 with 116 of 198 teachers responding, seventy-one teachers indicated they had advanced degrees in their major language and had traveled or studied in a country in which the language they teach is native. Fifty-one responding teachers had participated in special workshops. Seventy-four respondents indicated they were teaching in their minor field. This latter group included sixteen who were teaching two languages and had a minor in one. At the same time, based on this year's accreditation reports, twenty teachers are not certified to teach a language they are teaching. Our language teachers range from those with advanced degrees in the target language to those who lack minimal preparation, from those who teach full time in the language, to those who teach one class per day and teach level I and level II on alternate years. I trust you can understand some of the reasons for this diversity, and I submit such diversity probably exists in similar population areas in the United States such as Idaho, North and South Dakota and Wyoming. In the past few years, there has been little state money available for any type of inservice education and for foreign languages there has been none. Any such training was done by local districts which meant, not of necessity but in fact, that it was irregularly conducted, not always well organized, not available for many areas of the curriculum in smaller schools and frequently conducted with ill-prepared consultants. This was especially true for foreign languages, which represent so few teachers, 198 in the current school year. The individual school visits which are possible in my program may provide some psychological aid to improved foreign language instruction, but such visits cannot provide inservice training, and such supervisory travel as was possible could not contact many teachers. The regional workshops provide the format for sound workshops, present the feasibility of arranging for outside consultants and provide contact with vastly larger number of teachers. In 1973, through the region workshops, I met with 85 language teachers representing 38 schools. In the 1974-5 school year, I met with 93 language teachers from 50 schools and was able to provide an additional consultant for language teachers at five of the eight sites visited. (No language program was offered at one low attendance regional workshop.)

The workshop format provides a real opportunity to meet language teachers and for teachers within a region to meet each other. The

The concept dealt with the problem of low density population by focussing on major geographic divisions of the state through the cooperation of a major school district within each region. The programs were based upon voluntary cooperation of host school districts and voluntary participation of schools within each region. The timing of the workshops was such that they could be used to replace orientation and inservice days, which schools schedule at the beginning of the school year. The regional concept was intended to provide sufficient audiences in all subject matter disciplines to make workshops feasible, for example, to allow for a workshop for ten to fifteen foreign language teachers in a region which only has one or two language teachers per school.

For the first year every teacher in the state was surveyed to determine what topics represented concerns to be addressed. This method of survey was bolstered by the request to all state supervisors to make every effort to survey educators in their areas of supervision. Staff members were then assigned coordinating responsibilities for all topics which had been identified, even those topics for which the state office had no consultant staffing.

Responsibility for the programs was delegated to consultants who were requested to base programs upon indicated interests. Outside consultants were provided honoraria and expenses. In some cases funding was on a cooperative basis with host schools. In August and September of 1973 six regional workshops were conducted. Fifty-five hundred of the state's 10,500 elementary and secondary educators were involved. Ninety-three percent of those participating and responding indicated that the workshops were useful and that the program should be repeated.

During the winter of 1973, in a process of self-evaluation, the planning survey instrument was modified and the survey methods were improved. For regional workshops for the 1974-5 school year, surveys were provided only to staffs of schools which had already indicated an interest or a commitment to participate in a regional workshop. An 87% return of surveys provided an exceptional information base for planning. During the 1974-5 school year, nine regional workshops were conducted involving over seven thousand teachers. With an 88% return of evaluation, 90% of those evaluating the workshops stated they were of value and should be repeated. The foreign language segment of those evaluations was even more positive, with 94.5% returning a positive evaluation.

We are now in the midst of planning for the coming year. In our self-evaluation we are critical of the lasting impact from a one-day workshop, no matter how closely that one day focusses upon a teacher concern. Consequently, we have asked one of the participating regions to work informally with the state staff to plan a program and to provide a followup of ideas introduced in the fall. Beginning with the initial planning stages, we are working to focus upon region-wide concerns which will receive special emphasis throughout the entire year.

situation is far superior to the limited number of informal visits in schools during which scant time can be spent with a teacher involved in an already full schedule. In addition, by arranging these programs as part of an all-inclusive program for all teachers and staff, the administrative resistance to schedule-disrupting special interest meetings is eliminated. It is my opinion, not yet substantiated by research, that these regional workshops have greatly improved the value of inservice training which schools have always scheduled. This opinion is substantiated by the evaluation returns of participants. However, we have not yet measured actual classroom changes.

There are, of course, liabilities. Some workshops are not designed to meet expressed interests; some workshops demonstrate poor preparation and poor technique. Some special interest groups would persist in offering workshops for which there is no expressed audience interest. Also, as the program grows and as we look at broader educational challenges, there is a resistance to breaking down barriers between conventional subject matter areas. In the foreign language program a recurring problem for some people has been the impossibility of attracting sufficient teachers to a regional meeting to justify groupings by language. The biggest challenge, however, is the matter of determining and providing appropriate consultant honoraria.

In Montana our regional workshop program is envisioned as an open system for providing inservice work for all teachers. This work is based upon needs or concerns which involved teachers perceive. It is true that for language workshops I have had some effect on the subject matter to be addressed in that I have structured the surveys. As the program progresses, I expect to have even more development by teachers.

To illustrate the dissemination capability of these workshops, I mention topics covered in past foreign language workshops:

a) Providing Enrichment Activities
(Folk dance and music, reading, movies, field trips)
b) Developing Individualized Materials
(Initiating programs, pilot programs, adaptation of materials)
c) Small Group Activities
(Developing objectives and using activities in individual and small group situations)
d) General Exchange Session - Discussion
(Foreign language services and needs, including certification recommendations, career education, performance objectives and current trends)
e) Teaching Listening and Speaking Skills
f) Productive Foreign Language Testing
g) Basic Production of Inexpensive Audiovisual Materials
h) Foreign Language Demonstration and Discussion
(Language units based on shortwave radio, slide-tape demonstration programs)

i) Laboratory - Developing units from recorded shortwave materials
j) Laboratory - Developing slide-tape programs

The preceding list of topics represent foreign language offerings at 14 sites over a two-year period. Some programs were duplicated at various sites, but all programs were based upon surveyed interests of foreign language teachers. In addition to the above offerings, the total workshop catalog offered topics of general interest so that language teachers could attend sessions on classroom strategies and a wide variety of other topics not nominally in the foreign language field but in the category of teacher self-improvement.

CONCLUSION

I submit the regional inservice training provided by the regional workshop program is a viable method to work with language teachers in sparsely populated areas. The mechanics of coordination with school districts, state, regional, or provincial offices of education, and schools of higher education could vary widely as could the initiating leadership for such an approach. Funding could also vary widely but still be based upon already existing funding sources and priorities. Montana's regional workshops are funded with already existing state allocations and with Title V of the Federal Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which was earmarked to improve state education dissemination. As mentioned above, some school districts participate in funding beyond providing facilities. Some funds have also come from federal programs which include dissemination in the program contract, and from National Science Foundation monies allocated for inservice programs. Since the average cost per participant has been $7.50, it is not inconceivable that such a program could be funded by participants.

The cooperative nature of the program has been an outstanding feature. State associations of Art, English, Foreign Languages, Math, Science and Social Studies teachers have been involved in planning and presentation. Other state agencies have become involved, such as the Department of Health and Environmental Sciences and the Consumer Affairs Division. The cooperation is expanding as this new concept, new for Montana, gains visibility and credibility.

Such a broad-based cooperative program offers a great deal to foreign language teachers. This program provides a means for a numerically small group to develop useful inservice activities without competing within their school district against numerically larger groups. By dealing with many schools, the foreign language teacher's inservice interests can be freed from those of the English and reading teacher. Efficiency and economy are achieved by bringing many teachers together for one good program.

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APPLICATIONS OF GUIDED DESIGN TO FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING

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One of the dominant aims of American higher education today is problem-solving. In this respect, education is responding to the needs and values of a technological society. With such an orientation, the emphasis is on teaching and learning of techniques and skills, whether they be of the hands, the mind, or the imagination. This is reflected in the attempts in many institutions to train students to cope with what have been called "terracidal threats: lethal threats to the whole earth . . . ecocatastrophies, resource exhaustion, famine, uncontrolled population growth, world depression."[1]

Although my intention is to discuss a new approach to problem-solving, I must quickly point out that I do not believe that problem-solving should be the sole aim of education today. This would be to deny the humanistic tradition which strives to understand what is unique and incomparably human. Along with problem-solving, educators must nurture appreciation, enjoyment, discernment, and love of the subjects taught. However, with students seeking new approaches to traditional education, it is advisable to examine new systems to see what they have to offer to our profession.

Guided Design[2] is one such new method. It is an educational systems approach whose aim is to develop the student's decision-making skills as well as to teach specific principles and concepts. It has been described as eclectic, "partially Skinnerian," "highly cognitive" and espousing "modelling concepts."[3] The design was developed in 1969 by Dr. Charles E. Wales, Professor of Engineering and Education, West Virginia University, and Dr. Robert A. Stager, Faculty of Applied Science, University of Windsor, Canada. The first large-scale implementation occurred in 1970 in a freshman engineering course at WVU. Since its inception, the approach has been used in a variety of disciplines--political science, physics, English, anthropology, chemistry, history, biology, philosophy, and quite recently Spanish. The system is applicable to all levels of education and has been used by teachers in high schools, universities, continuing education, and industrial training programs.

At present, the skills and knowledge required for this rather complicated approach to course design are possessed by relatively few teachers. Gradually, experienced designers are developing materials which can be used elsewhere. Still others are being trained through in-service workshops, one of which I participated in (this particular workshop being supported by a grant from the Oregon Educational Coordinating Council). You might be interested to know that Guided Design is one of the new teaching-learning techniques which the Exxon

Educational Foundation has selected to support in its IMPACT program (Implementation of Materials and Procedures Affecting College Teaching).[4]

The authors of Guided-Design decided that, while the education system should satisfy all of the needs on the seven-point need hierarchy established by Maslow (i.e., 1. self-preservation, 2. safety, 3. belonging, 4. respect, 5. knowledge, 6. sensitivity-sensibility, and 7. self-actualization), the primary focus of their system should be on the last three:

1. Knowledge - i.e., the need for facts concepts, principles, methods.
2. Sensitivity-sensibility - i.e., the need to respond to intellectual or emotional events, values, beauty, people, art.
3. Self-actualization - i.e., the need to be an independent, adaptive, creative decision-maker.

Four specific goals set for the original course and pertinent to any Guided Design course attempt to accomplish the final three Mazlovian needs. These are:

1. To solve single-answer problems and perform all the intellectual abilities with the desired content.
2. To solve open-ended problems and perform all the intellectual modes.
3. To develop and use a value system.
4. To play the role of a professional.

Ideally, the Guided Design system should be used throughout the student's program. This is the case in the four-year undergraduate program in chemical engineering at WVU in which all of the professional course work has been developed around the Guided Design systems approach. However, encouraging results occur even in single courses or in projects within courses.

A course using the Guided Design approach usually begins with an introduction to the system and the decision-making process. Students are organized into 4-7 man teams for this introduction and the projects which follow. Each project is an extension of the basic idea of programmed learning (information - question - action - feedback) to the solution of an open-ended problem relating to some portion of the subject matter the student is expected to learn. The students are guided through to this solution by a set of printed instructions which

present information and ask a question. The students, working in small teams take action. When they complete their work on a given step, the faculty consultant or teacher who controls the flow of materials gives the students the printed feedback which explains how an experienced decision-maker would have answered the question. As the students' ability develops, the amount of guidance they receive is reduced.

Let me read you some of the material designed by Professor Joseph Renahan of WVU for a second-year Spanish class emphasizing culture.[5] Project 1 is to cover five, fifty-minute class sessions. The students begin the project when they receive Instruction 1:

> You have an 8:00 p.m. appointment for a housewarming party at the home of some friends in Medellín. They have just moved in and have not yet had a phone installed. The car you are driving, which you borrowed from a friend in Río Negro, breaks down on a lonely stretch of road about ten kilometers outside of Medellín just in sight of a farmhouse on the Carretera José Asunción Silva. (Your Spanish 32 instructor has assured you that you are quite capable of starving in the middle of Medellín.) It is 6:00 p.m.

1) They are asked to identify the problem. When they think they are ready, they receive this feedback:

> You probably decided that the major problem was how to get to your appointment on time. Getting the car repaired is also important, and may lead to the solution of the principal problem, but it does not appear to be your major concern.

2) They next try to state the basic objective. Feedback is as follows:

> Frequently the perception of a problem leads directly to the statement of a goal. In this case your goal is to get to your appointment on time.

3) Then they are told to state the constraints (i.e., factors which affect the outcome of the project and cannot be changed), the assumptions, and the facts. For example, the students can assume they know some Spanish vocabulary and basic verb forms, that they have a dictionary and a review grammar, and that they have some insight into Latin-American culture. They are told not to assume they are master mechanics. Feedback is not necessary here.

4) Next the group tries to generate possible solutions. Feedback:

> The more mechanically minded of you probably listed a number of items that could be checked in order to get the car going right away. There are other possible alternatives. The solutions could be grouped in the

following three categories:

1. Discover the cause and correct it.
2. Look for an alterrative.
3. Seek the help of an expert.

5) The solutions are evaluated to reach a decision. Feedback:

The road is not heavily traveled. If there were any passing long-distance buses, they would not stop. You know little or nothing about local bus schedules or routes. Perhaps they would take you to a telephone or garage, perhaps not. You are somewhat reluctant to hail a passing motorist. Even though in your disheveled state you hardly resemble a kidnaper's dream and this is not Argentina, you would hate to set a precedent in Colombia. The finca (farmhouse) on the other hand may have a telephone.

You have established a new objective, repairing the car, which you hope will be the key to accomplishing your principal objective.

Once the decision has been made, the students are taken through logical steps -- a conversation at the farmhouse to gather information, a telephone call to the repairman, discussion with the repairman when he arrives, etc. Throughout the steps, the material is carefully controlled and practice in the laboratory is encouraged, especially in anticipation of conversations. This is done by having only the native respondent's replies on tape, in order to preserve as much spontaneity as possible.

In addition to the above, students are asked to synthesize what they have learned by preparing a detailed account of the adventure to relate to friends at the party. They are also directed to evaluate the solution by writing a report in the form of a letter to the friend whose car was borrowed.

This being the first project of the course, it serves to introduce students to the design format and to acquaint them with the general orientation of the course, which consists of a series of social situations (a party, a trip, hotel reservations, university matriculation, a visit to a restaurant, etc.) which they will confront by learning and applying cultural information and linguistic data.

Once a project with clearcut objectives, such as the one above, has been prepared, what does the teacher do? The prime role of the teacher is that of guide, prompter, manager, and consultant. During

class the teacher moves from group to group listening, asking leading questions, and encouraging the students to participate in the decision-making process. He also controls the flow of the project Instruction-Feedback pages, because students sometimes have a tendency to try to shortcut the decision-making process and ask for a feedback page before they have demonstrated an appropriate level of thinking.

Although the basic mode of operation in a Guided Design class involves a group of four to seven students, it is often desirable to hold a whole-class discussion. There are at least three occasions when this might occur.

1. When one group has developed a particularly good idea, they can be asked to report to all the other students.
2. When one group is off the track, several groups, including this one, may be asked to report. The students are often quite good at identifying weak ideas.
3. When the whole class should consider:
   a) an important decision.
   b) a discussion of aspects which involve value judgments.
   c) the relationship between their project work and the work of an equivalent person in the real world.

There is no magic length for a project. It may last from one day to several weeks. Experience has shown that a three- to five-week project is a good length. Each project should provide several important functions:

1. establish a <u>need</u> for the subject matter the teacher wants the student to study,
2. require the student to <u>use</u> what he learns to solve the problem presented, and
3. provide the student with a guided, slow-motion <u>experience in decision making.</u>

Depending on the level of the students and the resources available, the subject matter might best be studied out of class with programmed, self-study materials. An audio-tutorial learning center might also be helpful. Until students learn to manage their self-study time, it may be desirable to pace their study and homework by scheduling quizzes at an appropriate time. Examinations in subject matter and decision-making are an integral part of the course.

The Guided Design system has not yet been evaluated extensively. However, experience to date has shown that a course using the Guided Design approach has positive results:

1. It increases the student's internal orientation with regard to locus of control.
2. It lowers the student's manifest anxiety.
3. Student grades on subject matter examinations are better than before.
4. There is usually an improvement in student motivation.
5. There is also greater perseverance, a more questioning attitude, greater maturity, increased verbal ability, greater independence, and a better attitude toward course work.

Let me give some examples of other possible projects. At any level of college language study, perhaps the more elementary the better, the students might be given this question to ponder:

> The faculty senate of a university has heard a motion to delete the foreign language requirement for the B.A. It has appointed an Ad Hoc Committee to study this matter. How is the committee to make the decision on its recommendation and what will its recommendation to the Senate be?

This type of exercise should help students recognize some of the pros and cons for foreign language study today and force them to take a stand on the question based on facts and sound reasoning.

In a more limited way, a beginning French class might be given several very brief projects to help students acquire linguistic and cultural knowledge and skill. For example:

> 1. When Mary protested that the teacher should not mark a word wrong just because she did not put the accent on it, the teacher asked her to consider why accents are used on French words. What did Mary learn, where did she go for her information, and did this knowledge make her protest more vociferously or accept the teacher's marking system?
>
> 2. You are staying in a student dormitory in Paris, having arrived just yesterday. You have never been to Paris before. You desperately need some Kaopectate and none of your friends has any. Where do you go to get medicine in Paris? How do you ask directions? How do you arrive at your destination? Once there, how do you

ask for what you want? How do you know whether you are paying a fair price?

If properly programmed, this latter project would include cultural information on French marketing, the money system, transportation in Paris, and the layout of Paris as well as training in vocabulary and pronunciation. As students grow more aware of all the aspects they must consider, they can in turn dream up their own "relevant" situations and, with guidance, imagine the problems they might encounter.

Projects can also be designed for literature courses. At West Virginia University, an ambitious freshman course called The Nature of Evidence[6] has been designed to achieve a broad range of objectives: to help students learn what constitutes sound evidence, to develop certain attitudes such as a penchant for basing beliefs on evidence and opening these beliefs to criticism, to teach some subject matter, to help the students learn how different professionals in the natural sciences, the social sciences, and the humanities gather evidence and use it to make a decision so that students cannot only compare and contrast different techniques but also develop skills needed for professional work. All problems in the course arise in the context of an actual experimental village called Rwamkoma. The specialist in English (by extension the student) is asked to grapple with the problem of whether or not a poem written by one of the village students, a purportedly pornographic poem which had created great concern in the village, has any literary value. Among other things, the students examine the poem, consider the reading list of the village students, try to understand social implications of the poem and the attacks made on it by the villagers, etc.

Rather than a broad problem on literary criticism with readings in English, as in the above case, a foreign language teacher might concentrate on one literary work, author, or genre at a given point in time. Say that Marian, the Librarian (of The Music Man) is condemned by the women of Gary, Indiana for reading those "dirty" French novels, for example, by BAL-zac! Should Marian lose her job? Is she a poor influence on the children of the town because of the books she reads? Why would anyone consider Balzac's novels "dirty?" Is there merit in his novels? Is Balzac representative of the novelists of his day? Have attitudes toward him changed since the mid-1800's?

We can see how such problems necessitate not only a careful reading of the work or works but also consideration of the reading public, the social and moral structure of the time, questions of creativity, originality, the role of the artist in society, and so forth.

Unfortunately, I have only had time to suggest the broad lines of the decision-making process, the development of performance objectives

for intellectual modes, the types of information to which the student might have recourse, etc. However, this brief introduction has hopefully shown that the system has definite possibilities for foreign language teachers.

In conclusion, let me point out that if content alone is the objective of a course, it can be learned in any of a number of ways, including independent study which eliminates the teacher. However, if the goal is the whole person, his ability to think, to develop a value system, to prepare himself for life, then Guided Design offers to the teacher a unique opportunity to be of lasting benefit to the student, to have an impact on his or her motivation and ability to continue to learn throughout life. Why should not we who are foreign language teachers aim for these lofty goals?

NOTES

1. Alan Geyer, "Education: Society's Change Agent," speech delivered at Willamette University, Oregon, September 27, 1974.

2. Information about the Guided Design approach is drawn from my personal experience in a Guided Design workshop plus descriptions set forth in two publications:

   a) Charles E. Wales and Robert A. Stager, Educational Systems Design (no publisher given; copyright 1970, 1974), vi + 109 pages + 10 sections with separate numeration.

   b) Charles E. Wales, The Guided Design Systems Approach, prepared for the Exxon Education Foundation IMPACT program (no publisher or date given), 117 pages.

3. John F. Feldhusen, "An Evaluation of the Course and Course Pattern: Guided Design," Engineering Education, LXII (No. 6, March 1972), 33.

4. Questions about the IMPACT program and Exxon grants should be addressed to:
   IMPACT Program
   Exxon Educational Foundation
   111 West 49th Street
   New York, New York 10020

5. A copy of the introductory project was sent to me upon request in January, 1975 by Joseph F. Renahan, Department of Foreign Languages, West Virginia University.

6. A description of this course is set forth in a paper prepared by Gene d'Amour and Charles Wales and entitled "A New Approach to Multidisciplinary Instruction," a copy of which was furnished to me by Dr. Gene d'Amour, Course Manager. Copies of the book The Nature of Evidence can be purchased from the West Virginia University Bookstore.

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FOREIGN LANGUAGE ALTERNATIVE PROGRAMS -- A PLEA FOR POSITIVE MODIFICATION IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE PROGRAMS

Edward Matkovick
Bellevue Community College

It is the belief of the foreign language department at Bellevue Community College (BCC) that foreign language learning is for all, the academic as well as the vocational students. Based on this premise, the department offers both regular academic transfer courses and alternative choices, vocational as well as academic. These alternatives, as expressed in the FLAP brochure (Foreign Language Alternative Program), are focused closely on the student's immediate objectives and his future needs.

There is no question that the two-year college, whether it be designated a community or junior college, is playing an important and unique role in the foreign language education field. Special efforts must be devoted to diversification of the curriculum offerings with special offerings, methods, courses or programs. These are exactly the tasks that the BCC foreign language department has set out to do and has been doing for the past two years. What follows now is a description of our foreign language program, some basic information as given in the FLAP brochure, and some analysis and evaluation of offerings to date.

FL007852

WHAT IS FLAP. . . ?

FLAP is a program which provides the language student with alternative choices best fit to his individual needs.

WHAT CHOICES ARE THERE. . . ?

In your first year - You may have a different emphasis on four language skills: listening comprehension, speaking, reading, and writing.

In your second year - Besides a different emphasis on your four language skills, you may have a choice of content: academic or vocational.

ACADEMIC PROGRAMS are regular college transfer programs with emphasis

on all four basic skills, structure, culture and civilization and/or literature.

FLAP 104 is an individualized first-year foreign language program where the student is permited to proceed at his own pace, with no minimum nor maximum work required in a given time period. Thus, in any quarter,a student may earn between zero credits (for no work satisfactorily completed) and fifteen credits (for completing the equivalent of an entire year's study of a foreign language in one quarter). The emphasis is upon a balanced approach to the four language skills. Students will have opportunities to engage in extra practice in one or more of these skills and to receive credit for the completion of special projects.

COMMUNICATIONS: - Journalists, foreign correspondents, radio and TV announcers, film and theatre directors, and others.

Practice in four basic language skills with emphasis more on reading and writing based on grammar review and summaries of world events as presented in foreign press. Study of foreign journalistic techniques.

VOCATIONAL PROGRAMS are regular community college vocational programs. However, students who desire may choose a FLAP to study a foreign language as a potential tool in their vocations or professions.

OFFICE PROFESSIONS: Bilingual Secretary

Practice in four basic skills with emphasis more on reading and writing skills than oral skills. Developing secretarial skills in typing, dictation, as well as composition of business letters in a foreign language. A business correspondence manual in a foreign language shall be used as a guide.

EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION: Pre-school Foreign Language Teachers

Emphasis is on all four language skills, language structure and creation of pre-school oriented materials, as well as practical pre-school teaching experience in the language of your choice.

NURSING PROGRAM: Nurses

Special attention is focused on a foreign language study as a tool to assist patients who are unable to understand English as well as student nurses whose native language is not English. Hence, emphasis is placed on special medical terminology, translations, and basic communication to establish professional confidence, friendliness and rapport so essential to nurse-patient

relationships.

SKI INSTRUCTOR SCHOOL: International Ski Instructor

Emphasis on four language skills with special attention, besides cultural aspects, on newspaper and magazine sporting events and manuals relating to foreign ski techniques and facilities.

And OTHER VOCATIONAL PROGRAMS wherever the interest and needs present themselves.

INTERESTED. . . ? HOW TO ENROLL. . . ?

If there is a special FLAP section scheduled in the language of your choice, then this is your entry. If there is none, consult the instructor of the appropriate regular language section of your choice and enroll.

ANY QUESTIONS. . . ?

If so, call Edward Matkovick, Chairman, Foreign Language Department, telephone 641-2341 (area code 206).

The above excerpts seem to open very wide choices, way beyond the instructor's control. Hence, it would be only appropriate to state what kind of offerings we actually had and which additional choices we could expect. We have to keep in mind that any alternative choices are an inherent part of our regular foreign language offerings at the second year level, and separate entities (courses) at the first year level.

As an example, at the first year level we offer German 104 and French FLAP series of 101F, 102F, and 103F. The 104 course, as already described above, is a highly individualized course, placing heavy stress on reading, writing, and translating; it enables the student to progress at his own speed and to earn variable credit from zero to 15 credits. The French FLAP 100F series is also an individualized course open primarily to students who had a varying amount of foreign language traning followed up by several years of no experience. In many instances, students who come to BBC are older students who for many reasons have left their studies and returned once again to fulfill their ambitions to either graduate from a four-year institution of higher learning or to get an associate degree at BCC in one of the vocational programs. In some instances there are students who combine both the academic and vocational programs. In the past, such students who enrolled in our foreign language program were enrolled in regular classes, forced to proceed in lock-step manner without having

a chance to work at their own speed. In the FLAP 100F series, a student may enroll in one, two, or all three courses (101F, 102F, or 103F) depending on his/her background and willingness to work. This course is generally being offered in fall quarter as a late afternoon or evening course, available particularly to students who are employed and who also pursue their educational objectives. Students meet three times a week for one and one-half hours for each section, i.e., 101F, 102F, and 103F. One class meeting per week is devoted to one section only, covering the exact amount of a weekly academic daily program. Hence, a student who signs up for one section is released twice a week; a student who signs up for two or three sections attends his highest section meeting and may be released or attend the lower sections according to his need. The advantage of this procedure is that a student may actually do his own placement in accordance with his actual progress, dropping or adding a section according to his need. So far the FLAP 100F series has had a good enrollment, from 20 to 35 students. However, the largest number of students meeting at one session may have been from 10 to 15 students. The method and emphasis on four language skills are determined during the time the sections meet. For example, in some class meetings greater emphasis may be placed on structure, reading and writing exercises; while in some others, a greater emphasis may be placed on listening comprehension and speaking, while assigning the structure portion to individual study. For this reason, a variety of materials are on hand and are recommended according to students' needs. Basically, in our experience so far the following students' objectives and needs have been identified and satisfied:

1. To review first-year college grammar in one quarter in order to carry on in foreign language study at the transfer college or university, or in the foreign language conversational courses offered in our continuing education program.
2. To review an appropriate section or course offering so as to be able to sign up for the highest sequential offering at BBC without being forced to sit through individual sections in sequence.
3. To give the student a choice of emphasis on four language skills: listening comprehension, speaking, reading, and writing as a classroom activity and listening comprehension as a lab activity.
4. To satisfy an urgent need for a quick review because of employment or travel needs.
5. To satisfy a personal need and interest, not being forced to attend classes daily, and being able to work at one's own rate of speed.

As an illustration of the above, let us examine the second year series in French - - 201F, 202F, and 203F. Usually this series may start with 201A, a regular academic offering in the fall quarter, and may

continue as 201F and 202F, a FLAP series, in winter quarter, and 202F and 203F in spring quarter. If there are any students left for 203F for the following fall quarter, the fall FLAP offering is scheduled as 201F and 203F in order to allow these students to complete the cycle. The FLAP 200F series is considered as a cycle that may start either in fall or winter, or in both quarters. Basic objective is a complete review of grammar in three phases with an emphasis on improvement of listening and reading skills. As long as it is a grammar review for which a full year of grammar or equivalent is required as a prerequisite, it is rather immaterial whether the students begin their grammar review with the first part or the second part of the basic text. Hence, the usual F-W-S (fall, winter, spring) cycle, starting in the fall quarter, changes to a W-S-F (winter, spring, fall) cycle in winter quarter, making it possible for the new 201F students to sign up also in the winter quarter and complete the cycle in the fall. The greatest advantage, besides the varied nature of the program, is the fact that 201F offers a beginning opening twice a year instead of once a year in fall quarter. Hence, the threat of the French 200 series being cancelled due to a small number of students is greatly reduced, because the enrollment is increased. Graphically, the cycle could be presented as follows:

	FALL	WINTER	SPRING
1974-75	French 201 A	French 201F/202F	French 202F/203F
1975-76	French 201F/203F	French 201F/202F	French 202F/203F

Students may sign up for one or both courses, depending on their background, proficiency, and scholarship. Alternative choices are open to both, students as well as the instructor. This means that a choice in specific FLAP vocational or academic alternatives may be limited to the resource material available on hand or the diversity of tracks already established. Students interested in such alternatives are interviewed by the instructor, their programs are mapped out and followed by a contractual agreement. In addition, the instructor may provide handout sheets containing information on objectives and methods, specifying also grading procedures and all necessary information for a more efficient working process. All such information, which is very up-to-date and based on the latest methods of teaching, is a result of the continual upgrading of the course content. The contract leaves out all guess work; the student knows exactly how to proceed and by what dates his tasks have to be fulfilled. The nature of the program agreed upon may be flexible and based on the student's background, preparation, and his objectives. Once more, this procedure assures the instructor's efficiency in planning a workable relationship.

Now let us talk about the nature of the program, i.e., the actual curricular offering. Let us describe the present French 200F series and then describe a few added features from past series and possible future offerings.

This fall quarter we started with French 201A, a regular academic transfer course, using as a basic text France, Cultural Grammar Review by Rebecca Vallette and C'est la Vie, a reader by Paul Pimsleur. The text consists of cultural readings followed up by grammar explanations and exercises. It is also supplemented by a laboratory workbook. We meet three times a week, each meeting lasting for one and one-half hours. Twice a week we use Vallette's textbook and once a week Pimsleur's. C'est la vie was used to determine student's language proficiency, making allowances for a gradual "pickup" without the danger of being overwhelmed due to a very easy range of conversational skill. This is an important aspect and is quite frequently decisive as to whether the weaker student will stay in the class or will decide to continue in his "shopping spree." In the winter quarter, those students who sign up for French 201F cover exactly the same material as the students who were in 201A and continue in FLAP 202F. This means that they work on the second part of Vallette's text and Chapters 11 through 21 of Images de la France Contemporaine and two booklets of Les Francais comme ils sont-II. Images is used for expansion of students' oral skills. Used with film strips, each chapter, 32 in total, introduces the student to a new phase in French life and culture, a new chapter each week. These materials are also freely available to students outside of the classroom situation. Each student is responsible for recording orally 12 picture descriptions out of approximately 30 picture frames for each chapter. Before this oral recorded "exam," the student picks up an evaluation sheet where the instructor circles the numbers of the picture frames he wants the student to orally describe and record. Then the instructor listens to the student's cassette recordings, writing down notes referring to four basic areas: pronunciation, structure, delivery, and content. Each student is graded on all four areas and receives a cumulative performance grade. Besides the written comments on the evaluation sheet, the instructor goes over the written comments, recording them on the student's cassette tape, adding his suggestions as to how the student could improve. It is a lengthy process for both the student and the instructor, but worth the effort. It is a fact that no matter how ideal the conditions may be, there is not enough time in the classroom itself to offer the student enough opportunity to improve his oral skills. Particularly if he is forced to give an oral presentation in front of the class, as we were also doing, he is subject to psychological pressures and often too many corrections intensify the pressure. Some students detest performing in front of an audience. Yes, it is much easier to participate as a part of a group, responding to questions which they use as a crutch, and not being able to express themselves freely. For free expression, one has to, first of all, gain a great supply of not only vocabulary but also phraseology, and the skill of constant recombination within a variety of situations. Otherwise we keep perpetuating the habit of coding and decoding, and not being able to free ourselves. In addition, the student does not mind going over and over the frames as long as he has a model--the master tape--to use for his guidance and to improve his lis-

tening comprehension and sound discrimination. After listening to a few such student cassette recordings, the instructor gets gradually acquainted with the student's difficulties and can gradually narrow them down. It is our firm conviction that there are two choices: to keep on doing more reading, contributing very little to improvement of oral skills, hence to close one's eyes to this part of activities, or to try to do something about it, as this instructor has set out to do. We are convinced that, in the final run, students do appreciate and respect more a course offering where they feel that they are "getting their money's worth" in spite of their increased efforts.

As to the other resource, the Les Francais, it is being used clearly for listening comprehension purposes. It is also a color filmstrip series with a rich cultural content. There are six booklets with complete text and grammar exercises. Two booklets are being used for each quarter. Though each chapter is introduced in the classroom, it is left from there on to students' individual study. A comprehension test is being compiled to test the student on the scope of his cultural acquaintance.

There are other possibilities available within the same series. At one time, we used to offer literature-oriented 200 series where we used Langue et literature by Brown. Though quite well done, it only appealed to the strictly academically oriented student. After the student's first year of French study, Langue et literature created a growing gap between the student's effort to read and to speak the language. If a student has a desire to be exposed to literature, he may substitute the Langue et literature for France. He is released on days we use France and is subject to individual conferences with the instructor as needed. He is given a regular midterm and final exam on it as well as an oral exam. His oral conversational skills are subject to oral practice with Images. If there is an interest, as the case may be, students may substitute Images sessions for, let us say, a study of business corespondence. Or students may again substitute the filmstrip series by working on a compilation of teaching lessons to be taught in the Early Childhood Education laboratory classes. Or they may work on some materials connected with the training of nurses. In the past, relatively few were interested in vocational offerings. However, the program is open to such diversification as is feasible within the FLAP offerings. It is rather interesting to note that most of the transfer students avail themselves of the FLAP series simply because it offers a greater diversification from the point of view of interest, and more practical application. The students are becoming more and more aware of the greater usefulness of the FLAP training and its application to many other academic aspects of life than just those of the "belles lettres."

In the past, our basic problem was with the low enrollments at the second-year level. FLAP offerings seem to have cured this problem.

The present French 201F/202F series is filled to capacity (20 students . We have over-enrolled the first year sections to compensate for the second year low enrollments. Hopefully, this should be reversed with a normal 25-30 students instead of 35 students for a 101 section. As long as the community colleges operate on the basis of FTE equivalencies, assigning the department's quotas in FTE's to be fulfilled, it may become very important to meet such quotas even at the expense o. sacrificing the qualify. It seems to us that the idea of diversification by means of our FLAP program may save both, the numbers as w l as the quality.

Under the present system the college is allotted so much mo y for every FTE (full time equivalent), which is 15 credit hours a quarter. For those of you who may be confused as to how FTE works, here is an example: if you have a class worth five credits with 30 students, that is 30 x 5 = 150, divided by 15 credit hours = 10 FTE's. So the fuller the class, the more FTE's and more "profit," which seems to be a measure in our tight budget times.

In conclusion, we must say again that we do owe the students foreign language offerings based on their interests, needs, and objectives. We have to keep them open to both the academic and the vocational student. We have to enlist the greatest possible number in order to "stay in business." Most of the colleges and universities, except the University of Washington, do not require any foreign language for transfer students. The University of Washington's 10-credit requirement does not seem to make much sense, but does provide a number of students for our first-year classes. However, to secure any meaningful continuity in a foreign language program, we have to rely on diversification to be attractive enough to increase our enrollments. Hopefully we are succeeding in spite of the odds. How come? Hard work and more rewarding hard work.

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LANGUAGE AND CULTURE IN THE MULTIETHNIC COMMUNITY:

SPOKEN-LANGUAGE ASSESSMENT

Joseph H. Matluck and Betty J. Mace-Matluck
Seattle Public Schools

Our interest in linguistic and socio-cultural factors that influence testing stems, on the one hand, from ethnic or racial groups within our own linguistics structure, and on the other from those linguistic groups which possess a language and cultural base which is different from ours. Our basic concern has been with the latter, the non-native-English-speaking group rather than with sub-cultures and second dialects of English, and particularly with the assessment of the communication skills of the former group. And we believe that this area is most relevant to the whole problem of test construction if we consider that--all other things being equal--the person who consistently does better on tests is the one who has better control of the language in which the test is given. The person who has imperfect control of the language will invariably miss certain of the key signals that are vital to the full understanding of a stimulus, a choice, or some other test element. What we're saying is that one individual who may be just as knowledgeable in a certain test area as another individual may nevertheless come up with the wrong answer because of faculty control of the language.

Alongside of this linguistic consideration is the factor of interpretation of the test item based on the student's view of reality, which is, of course, shaped by his native cultural patterns. We might cite an example which would be illustrative of both of the problem areas we just mentioned--language on the one hand and culture on the other. A test item containing the seemingly simple statement: "the child is running a temperature", which for the native speaker is a readily understood as "has a fever" or "has a temperature," represents for the non-native-English speaker a far, far more complex linguistic structure. In the second place, the age range covered by the word "child" may vary quite a bit from one culture to another. For example, in most Hispanic cultures the age range covered by our word "child" includes the entire range of niño and extends upward to the lower range of muchacho. Thus, for a Spanish speaker with less than native control of English, the simple word "child" could be ambiguous.

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I. Linguistics and Socio-Cultural Considerations

Before we go further into the question of assessment of the communication skills of non-native-English speakers, we believe we should examine the whole area of our relationship to such groups, or more specifically, what it is that we as English-speaking Americans notice about "foreign" speakers (or what we don't notice) and the resulting assumptions we make on the basis of that observation (we're referring mostly to the subconscious rather than the conscious level). The two things we notice first about him is what he looks like and what he sounds like.

A. Physical Features. We see a set of physical features which identify a person as belonging to a certain ethnic or racial group, and first subconscious assumptions are based on a complex set of factors, stemming partly from our own experience, but largely from a whole store of myths, legends, etc. For example, we see a set of features we recognize as Japanese, and we think of his being smart, intelligent; they are recognized as Chinese, then he's industrious; if Spanish, he's lazy; if Eskimo, he's primitive, etc.

Of course, the educational process teaches us that a good many of these assumptions are completely false or unwarranted, but the initial "gut reaction" often lingers on at the subconscious level.

B. Speech

1. Vocabulary - Lexicon. What probably hits our ears most violently are the gross errors the non-native English speaker is likely to make in the area we know best--words, vocabulary, lexicon--either his absolute inability to come up with any word at all or his faltering attempt at doing so, or his complete misuse of a particular word (Examples: He assisted the meeting. Please ring for me the phone. I do not know his direction.).

2. Syntax. Or he may put together an irregular or even string of sentence elements--subject, verb, object, etc.--his syntax, that is. He may have the right words, but his constructions may seem most awkward and he may put them together in what is for us a very strange manner, and he may or may not be able to make his meaning clear.

Examples:

a. I have heat ∩ I warm ∩ Warm I

b. Was given by me the knife to him

c. Everyday morning this two student go where?

d. I very big; they very small

e. He has to his house in the country gone

3. Morphology. Or he may put the sentence elements together correctly, but he may omit certain important grammatical signals, or inflections (mostly suffixes) that we absolutely must hear if we are to distinguish singular from plural or present from past, etc. This area is morphology.

Examples:

a. Billy call me at 7 o'clock (calls or called?)

b. Si gave it to me (he or she?)

c. The boy have two /dɔk/ (dog or do:s?? - or have to duck????)

4. Phonology. Or he may use the right words, put them together correctly, and give the right signals, but he may mispronounce certain sounds or sequences of sounds--this is the area of phonology--to the point where, despite his absolute correctness in lexicon, syntax and in morphology, what he says may be partially or totally unintelligible.

Examples:

a. /ay đô ha đi tãy/ (I don't have the time.)

b. /dey wor^{l}a$^{\wedge}$lali/ (They work at Larry's.)

c. /dey hab beriy payn tsiyp/ (They have a very fine chief.)

5. Suprasegmentals. Or, finally, all the other language features may be fairly accurate, but if he hasn't mastered the English suprasegmentals (intonation, rhythm, etc.), then he still might get into all kinds of trouble.

Examples:

a. What are we having for dinner$^{\searrow}$ - ^{3}mo^{3}ther$^{\uparrow}$? (pitch and juncture)

b. /điy-tša-ta-nuw-ga tšuw-tšuw/ (The Chattanooga Choo-Choo- syllabic rhythm: syllable length unvaried)

c. I didn't see him (stress: no emphasis intended)

C. Sociolinguistic Factors.

But it is in the area of the sociolinguistics (the relationship of language to cultural patterns) where our observational powers are least sharp, so that what we don't notice nearly so readily is the cultural interpretation of what is heard or said.

We tend to go from the established fact that there are certain universals in the human experience (sensual reactions such as hunger, thirst, pain, joy, sorrow, etc.) to the mistaken as umption that the manisfestations of these sensations are roughly the same in all cultures. But sociologists have pointed out again and again some of the great differences that we find across cultures in how reality is viewed, in the ranking of values, in interpersonal relationships, in cause and effect relationships, and in institutions.

One example we might cite is the institution of breakfast. The one common element most cultures share with respect to this institution is that it is the first meal of the day. But it is erroneous to assume that

it is a meal eaten necessarily: 1) soon after getting up; 2) sitting at a table; 3) served by mother; 4) eaten with knife, fork and spoon; 5) or consisting of juice, milk, eggs, cereal, toast and coffee.

The assumptions are erroneous, of course, because there are cultures in which breakfast: 1) may not be eaten until several hours after rising; 2) may have been prepared by any member of the household or by a maid; 3) is eaten while standing or while sitting on a mat; 4) is eaten with other implements such as chopsticks, or with the fingers; 5) may not contain any liquid at all; 6) the child may drink tea, coffee, or even something mildly alcoholic like pulque; 7) breakfast might consist of what for us would be such unlikely foods as dried fish, rice, spaghetti, stew, etc.

II. Assessment Considerations

We have had to be particularly aware of these kinds of things in the research we've been working at for the past year. Let us tell you a little about that, since it is central to our discussion today.

A. Multilingual Test Development Project

Under the auspices of the Center for Applied Linguistics in Washington, D.C. and the Seattle School District, and with the generous assistance of the Center for Research Services for Multicultural Education, we have developed the MAT-SEA-CAL Oral Proficiency Tests[1], a series of tests in six languages.

1. Prototype - Aims and Objectives. The prototype is an English test, totally oral, for use in the early grades (K-4), designed a) to determine the child's ability to understand and produce the distinctive characteristics of spoken English, to express known cognitive concepts, and to handle learning tasks in English; and b) to provide placement and instructional recommendations with respect to alternate programs, such as special English instruction and bilingual education.

2. Comparable Tests. We then developed comparable tests with similar objectives in Cantonese, Mandarin, Tagalog, Ilokano, and Spanish, language groups reflecting some of the largest of the forty non-native-English-speaking groups in the Seattle schools.

3. Modes. Each test uses various modes of assessment: Listening Comprehension, Sentence Repetition , Structured Response. We feel that a multimode approach is essential, not only because certain language features are more easily and more efficiently tested within a particular mode, but also because learning styles of different individuals vary, as do learning characteristics of particular ethnic groups. Thus the multimode approach tends to equalize the possible advantage that one group may enjoy over another.

B. Cultural and Linguistic Bias

Our tests are strictly oral, and the three modes employed incorporate the two major categories of recall and recognition. While recognition-type tests may appear to be simpler for the non-native-English speakers to handle, it is this type which presents greater possibilities for cultural bias and for the use of complex linguistic structures which are easily overlooked by the native English speaker constructing the test. Let us point out a few examples of cultural and linguistic bias that we ran into while working with our native informants.

1. In one of our visuals we had a little boy with tears in his eyes at an easel, brush in hand, a half-finished painting on the easel, and a can of spilled paint on the floor. We discovered that this is an unfamiliar experience for a Chinese child. Our kind of paints and brushes are not familiar to him, the easel is an unknown entity to him, and he simply does not make the cause-and-effect relationship so obvious to a Western child. An inference that might be drawn here which could be of great importance to the whole field of testing is that the Chinese child if asked to make that kind of cause-and-effect relationship, would probably miss that item on our I.Q. tests.

2. It might be very difficult for native speakers of Chinese to say the equivalent of "He got a bike for his birthday," since something as expensive as a bicycle would never be given as a birthday gift--perhaps as another kind of present or as some kind of reward, but the birthday "gift" is traditionally a little red envelope with a token coin inside. In Catholic countries "Christmas presents" might be a difficult item, since presents come not at Christmas but at the Epiphany.

3. Foods present many problems. Sandwiches and bread are unknown to many cultures; in some rice is the base food. Meat is used very sparingly by some. And what are consummate delicacies for some are disgusting and nauseating to others.

C. Content and Supporting Materials

Two other areas of concern in test development are content and supporting materials. As to content, our tests incorporate a wide range of language features, both phonological and structural.

We approached the selection of items for the tests from the point of view of identifying some basic learning concepts that a child must handle in order to perform in a school setting, i.e. the skills of identifying, classifying, quantifying, interrogating, and negating and of showing important relationships such as spatial, case, and temporal. We then determined the grammatical manifestations of the language --English for example-- the child must handle in order to perceive or to communicate these concepts. The other languages express the same concepts as does English, but each one almost always does it in different ways, i.e. with different language manifestations.

A couple of examples:

1) In order to quantify, English inflects nouns (/-s/, /-z/, /--z/ , but not adjectives nor verbs (except very partially in one tense only). Spanish inflects nouns, adjectives, and verbs for plural. Chinese inflects none of these, but uses other means: numerals and certain adjectivals to pluralize nouns; and pronouns and certain adverbs to indicate a plural subject of verbs. Filipino inflects neither nouns nor verbs but does inflect adjectives for plural, and uses pronouns and certain adverbs to indicate the plural subject of verbs.

2) In order to show temporality, English does it almost entirely through the verb structure, as does Spanish, but in different ways (i.e. the Spanish verb inflectional system is much more extensive). In Chinese, verbs don't reflect temporality at all and this concept is signalled by adverbs of time and some particles which change the status of a condition, occurrence, or action. Filipino does it partially through the verb structure (but in a different way from English and Spanish) and partially through adverbs of time.

Working on these tests with native informants of five languages has been a very rich and rewarding experience for us, culturally as well as linguistically, and we would like to show you, in the area of both content and supporting material, examples of some of the sociolinguistic phenomena we referred to earlier.

1. Linguistic Factors

a) Many languages, including most Asian groups, pluralize in a much less primitive way than we do with forms for more than one being divided into duality and plurality categories.

b) As a rule, non-Indo-European languages do not inflect nouns for plural, nor do they usually inflect verbs for tense-persons. The noun in Chinese has no article, no inflection and is classified by what for us is an unfathomable system --by size, shape, use, quality, texture, etc., and these are embodied in a measure word which precedes the noun.

c) In the pronoun classification area, English has sex differentiators; Spanish has grammatical gender differentiators; Chinese has neither, but can classify by a measure-word system; Filipino does not differentiate sex, but does make animate/inanimate distinctions.

d) In the English tag system, surely the craziest ever invented by man, the tag is affirmative if the statement is negative and vice versa. Most languages handle the corroborative interrogative with a simple "true?" or the equivalent, and Asians solve our system in a way which is very logical for them but most disconcerting for us, by simply ignoring the negative or affirmative reversals in the tag and agreeing with the statement. Thus, "Yes, I did." or "Yes, I didn't."

e) Asian languages normally eliminate the copulative in favor of some type of stative verb system: thus, "Pretty girl Lily," "Salesman Tony." Many native-English speakers are tempted to associate this type of error in the speech of a non-native-English speaker with the linguistic judgement of "pidgin, primitive, ignorant, baby talk" -- sometimes indeed, carrying this to the ridiculous extreme of judging him and his language as ignorant, primitive, etc.

f) Verb structures present all kinds of complicated differences. In Filipino, normal sentence construction has the predicate precede the subject (or topic) in a manner which seems to us very similar to our passive voice. There is a strong non-correspondence of time, tense and aspect from language to language. Spanish has a highly developed system for time; Chinese never inflects verbs for time but only for change of status and uses adverbs to signal time differences; and Chinese uses verbs to express spatial relationships; Filipino does this to a lesser degree (locative focus requires a special verb class); and Filipino verbs have time distinctions only between action begun and not begun. Filipino languages have a tremendously complicated system of affixes for their many, many verb classes and an equally complicated and varied system of focusing; that is, what the speaker wants to be highlighted becomes the topic of the verb, the difficulty for us being that each time the focus is changed, a completely different class (or conjugation, if you will) of the verb is required, with completely different forms (prefixes, suffixes and infixes), and the focuses vary from actor to object to locative to benefactive to causative to instrumental for a total of at least nine different morphological classes and many sub-classes.

g) The Spanish gender system, unique among these six languages, represents a gigantic learning problem for the other five groups; and for the Spanish and Filipino speakers especially, our system of inflecting the first of two nouns to show possession (instead of their "ear of the dog" pattern) represents a three-pronged learning challenge (syntactical, morphological, and phonological) which is equally gigantic: word order, inflection and consonant clusters. And the English prepositional system is a mystery to Asians who really don't have prepositional systems at all, but who use directional and locational markers or directional and locational verbs.

2. Cultural Factors

In the area of supporting materials, one of the most important of which are visuals, you would want to be aware of the work of Mundy-Castle[2] and others who have found that conventions in art do not necessarily hold across cultures. Line drawings and certain diagrammatic representations simply do not mean the same things in all cultures. Comic-strip art makes use of a whole host of these, and it would be the height of folly to expect their meanings to be interpreted in the same way in widely divergent cultures (i.e. a light bulb with little lines emanating from it

equals "sudden idea"; "z-z-z-z..." equals somebody asleep; a solid line around a quote indicates speech, a jagged line denotes a thought, etc.).

When one looks at each culture's view of reality from the starting point of the reality itself -- as manifested in our tests by our visual material and their production -- one often finds, as we did, the necessity for compromise of varying degrees and in varying directions.

Some cases in point:

a) In order for a Mandarin to recognize a building as a school building, it needs a fence around it; for the Cantonese, it must be a one-story building; the Filipinos need a wall; all seemed to need a flagpole. For the Chinese to recognize children as schoolchildren, they need to have, not books in their hands, but a knapsack across their shoulders. Our policeman first turned up wearing short pants and with his holster on his left side (our artist was a young Cantonese woman from Hong Kong).

b) Dolls can present all kinds of problems across cultures. We used a little doll's bed in one visual --with some trepidation, but we used it. Our fear was the total lack of familiarity with such an entity which might exist on the part of a child belonging to a culture in which nobody sleeps on a bed. And in Mandarin the word for doll is "foreign baby" and the dolls are blonde and look very western (they now have native-looking dolls, but the name stuck). In Filipino dolls are not babies, but adult figures, since children are treated as adults, invited to adult affairs, learn adult dances (there are no children's dances as such); and the child is not called a child but a young man or a young woman (there is no separate word for "boy" or "girl").

c) A cat with a bandage on its ear and playing with a ball are difficult concepts for some groups because many cultures simply don't get toys for cats and dogs and because these pets are just not that important to people. Thus, it may be very difficult for a Chinese to have to say the equivalent of "What happened? Did he have a fight?" with respect to a cat. And in many Hispanic cultures, until very recently, there were no S.P.C.A.'s because animals are simply on a different level of importance.

d) In Mandarin it is at least unusual, if not inconceivable, for a mother to be cutting her daughter's hair; not so in Cantonese. And Filipino has a different verb for cutting hair than for ordinary cutting.

The examples we have touched upon represent only some of the many sociolinguistic problems inherent in multilingual testing and the concomitant dangers of cultural bias in either the visuals or in the language employed, and they illustrate, we think, how closely related and inseparable are a language and its culture.

III. Pedagogical Considerations

If, then, we are to design adequate instructional programs in the schools of any multilingual community for children whose native language is not the dominant language of the country, we must know the level of the child's audio-lingual proficiency in both languages. To do this, we must have tests in each of these languages which accurately measure that proficiency. The MAT-SEA-CAL Oral Proficiency Tests[3] are designed to meet this need.

In addition, the unique concept design of these tests provides, for diagnostic and planning purposes, a provile of 1) the student's ability to handle each concept, and 2) his areas of strength and weakness in both languages. Since all of the tests are comparable in their organization and structure and in linguistic content, by administering the test in English and in the child's native language, we can compare the profiles and determine whether the child's problems are linguistic or perhaps conceptual in nature.

A comparison of the superimposed profiles can also indicate the child's language dominance in the areas tested, and can provide useful information as to placement and curriculum and program planning for that particular child.

We are nearing the end of an extensive field testing program both in Seattle and several other areas, both urban and rural, in which we will have tested about 700 children in two languages, and an additional 300 monolingual English speakers, prior to the publication of a revised edition this summer.

While these tests are still in need of further refining, much thought, careful research, and a wide range of professional experience have gone into their construction, and we feel that the data now being collected and analyzed will yield invaluable information for program planners, researchers and teachers, and might possibly contribute some important findings in the area of second-language acquisition. The project has certainly given us, and others working with us on it, greater insight into the linguistic and cultural patterns of our multilingual community.

NOTES

1 Joseph H. Matluck and Betty Mace-Matluck, MAT-SEA-CAL Oral Proficiency Tests: English, Spanish, Cantonese, Mandarin, Tagalog, Ilokano, Field test edition in six volumes (Seattle, Washington and Arlington, Virginia: Seattle Public Schools and Center for Applied Linguistics, 1974).

2 A.C. Mundy-Castle, "Pictorial Depth Perception in Ghanaian Children," in D.R. Price-Williams (Ed.), Cross Cultural Studies (Baltimore: Kingsport Press, 1969).

3 Matluck and Matluck, MAT-SEA-CAL Oral Proficiency Tests.

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FILLING THE GAPS IN THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE METHODS COURSE

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A close look at several foreign language teacher training programs reveals a number of significant gaps. Such apparent lack in professional preparation was confirmed in numerous informal talks with student teachers and beginning teachers from a cross-section of universities. Three areas in which these omissions are most glaring are the teaching of culture, activities to promote the study of foreign languages, and surprisingly, testing.

With all the concepts that already need to be covered, how many more topics can methods instructors be expected to pack into a one semester course? Often they only have half a semester available with the other half devoted to student teaching. How many bandwagons will future teachers be asked to climb aboard? What new wrinkle will Uncle Sam be willing to finance five or ten years from now? The real source of frustration in all of this lies in the fact that too many instructors see their function in the mere transmission of all the facts.

Most teachers tend to pass on to their students what they were taught and, what is more important, they tend to do it in the manner in which they were taught. Most vivid in the memory of student teachers are the four or five years of undergraduate instruction just completed. If this preparatory experience consisted for the most part of an accumulation of facts, the new teachers will tend to transmit similar cans of worms to their students. Without realizing it, they will measure their success as teachers by the number of worms they can get into the can. This is precisely what many universities still peddle under the pretense of offering an education. In an age where future shock is no longer a far-off threat, many of the facts laboriously acquired in whatever number of years are obsolete or of little use by the time students are ready to apply them. People whose education consisted in the stockpiling of facts are incapable of dealing with change, which is the one factor that is here to stay.

Teachers who have made an impression on us are those who made us think, who taught us how to ask questions and how to look for specific facts in order to generalize and refine knowledge. If we are to produce teachers who will provide their students with a true education, college professors must set examples which are worthy of emulation. This applies to the methods class as it does to any col-

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lege level course. A methods course which consists of a series of lectures designed to stuff listeners with linguistic and historical facts will produce teachers who cram facts about the target language down students' throats.

The need for an education experience which goes beyond an accumulation of facts does not mean the absence of a well-structured program to thoroughly develop skills and professional competence. The need for truly competent teachers has never been greater. Our contention here is that the competencies of a new teacher must exceed those of a mere recital of facts. In an outline of a competence-based and field-centered teacher education programs, Anthony Papalia suggests three areas of teacher competence: content area, the learning-teaching process, and the relationship of teacher-school-community-profession.[1] We must produce teachers with a strong background in all these areas. In order to be able to cope with change, they must be dedicated and familiar with what the profession has to offer to help them in their never-ending search for better ways of facilitating learning. Young teaching candidates are not going to rush into membership in professional organizations and pay the required dues just so they can say that they belong. However, if students are repeatedly directed to resources available through the profession in solving specific problems, methods instructors are well on their way to meeting students' present and future needs. Locating sources of information and discovering facts in the process of solving problems contributes to true learning.

Since it is impossible for a methods class to exhaust all problems in every topic to be "covered," methods teachers can provide students with lists of problems on a number of topics. From each list the student must select one problem. Perhaps with the help of a librarian, the instructor acquaints students with the most significant research sources. As a course requirement future teachers must

a) research the problem,
b) design an appropriate learning activity for the students, and
c) design a method of evaluation.

In this manner students become involved in solving a task. They learn how to ask questions, consult resources, and formulate answers and are likely to apply similar methods in solving other problems within the same area.

If this sounds too involved, methods instructors might wish to try this approach in just one area. The "teaching of culture" is an ideal topic for such an experiment. While in most content areas the methods instructor will find students reasonably well prepared, in the area of culture the class frequently is getting into virgin territory. The methods instructor must first of all convince his

class of the need for the teaching of culture. Since most college students are still led to equate culture with the study of literature, their concept of culture must be broadened to "include everything people learn to do," as Seelye expresses it in his recent book on Teaching Culture.[2] Next the instructor must acquaint the class with current techniques of teaching culture, including such tools as culture assimilators, capsules, clusters and mini dramas, stressing that teachers must act as representatives of the culture to be learned. A brief inventory of gestures, clothing, and attitudes may be helpful. The task can be simplified by placing such items as Morain's article on "Cultural Pluralism,"[3] Nostrand's "Empathy for a Second Culture: Motivations and Techniques,"[4] and Seelye's recent very helpful book on Teaching Culture[5], on the library reserve shelf.

Especially if some of the class has traveled and studied abroad, the students' help can be elicited in compiling a list of areas to be investigated. Each student then picks one topic to pursue. The end product is a paper showing research methods and sources, classroom techniques, and evaluation methods. This approach becomes tremendously enriching for the methods instructor as well. Each semester the class will come up with new ideas. At Colorado State University one student enlisted the help of a graduate student in anthropology who was writing a thesis on German language and culture pockets in Northern Colorado.[6] Cultural pluralism became a meaningful concept to the whole class when they discussed this student's findings.

Professors of meaningful literature classes will not attempt to lecture about all there is to know about a period of literature. If they have shown students how to approach a few representative works, these students will walk away with an appreciation and know-how that will motivate and enable them to explore as much of the literature as possible. This is no different than methods instructors who have their students discover ways and means of teaching by having them solve specific representative problems.

The ability to define and research a problem, to get students involved in coming to grips with the problem and to evaluate their success is important. However, there is still one very important ingredient missing. Under the heading "Teacher-School-Community-Profession," Papalia includes one extremely important objective for future teachers: "Since the teacher must communicate with the personnel in the school-community, the teacher shall be able to: . . . define and interpret the rationale for the inclusion of foreign languages in the curriculum and interpret this to students, administrator and community."[7]

Future language teachers must be instilled with a realization of the unique value of what they have to offer their students and with a sense of urgency for getting their message before the entire com-

munity, in and out of the school. New teachers must realize that promoting the study of foreign languages is an important part of their job. The methods instructor should provide a survey of some of the promotion techniques presently successfully employed by foreign language teachers throughout the country. However, to really make an impact on future teachers, they must be involved in some promotional activity before they become certified. Method instructors must keep informed regarding promotional activities by teachers in their area, and they must make certain that some promotional activity becomes part of every future teacher's field experience. This type of cooperation leads to benefits all around. At Colorado State University several teacher candidates have acted as aides in foreign language camps conducted by several school districts in Colorado. They helped with the preparation of materials, such as signs, posters, passports, song sheets, etc. and helped direct games and other activities. Camp participants often feel more at ease trying the target language on a college student than on one of their teachers or an older native speaker of the language. Some students worked with language fairs, others worked with groups of junior high school students practicing a short play to be presented to sixth grade classes feeding into that junior high school. A side benefit of such activities is that future teachers become more intimately acquainted with young students than is ordinarily possible in a classroom setting.

Told that language teachers have something to offer but that they must make more of an effort to reach out to the community, one college student helped conduct a survey on community needs in a part of a city with a primarily Spanish speaking population. This inspired him to prepare a number of teaching units dealing with the family life of Spanish speaking families in the community. One student teacher elicited the help of her students in translating the all-English menu of a Mexican restaurant in the neighborhood. These students learned while solving real problems.

Students who are engaged in problem solving find the exercise of writing performance objectives to be a realistic activity. It is well to have a thorough unit on behavioral objectives and testing early in the course. The true objectives of teachers can easily be detected by looking at their tests. Detailed coverage of testing early in the semester will enable the class to come up with more realistic objectives. As future teachers learn to define the problem to be solved in terms of specific objectives, they will have a test spelled out as part of the process of stating the problem. Several helpful books on testing and performance objectives can be put on the library reserve shelf to aid method students, such as the handbook published by the Modern Languages Association under the direction of F. André Paquette,[8] Valette's outstanding

and practical handbook, Modern Language Testing[9], as well as Modern Language Performance Objectives and Individualization by Valette and Disick.[10]

Method teachers will never be able to anticipate all of the specific skills and facts the members of their classes will need during their years of teaching. They can, however, inspire a creative professionalism which will produce resourceful teachers who are responsive to the changing needs of students and society.

NOTES

1. Anthony Papalia, A Competency-Based and Field-Centered Teacher Education Program in French: Teacher Competencies and Evidence of Achievement (State University of New York at Buffalo, 1974).

2. H. Ned Seelye, Teaching Culture: Strategies for Foreign Language Educators (Skokie, Illinois: National Textbook Company, 1974), p. 10.

3. Genelle G. Morain, "Cultural Pluralism," in Dale L. Lange, ed., Britannica Review of Foreign Language Education, Vol. III (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1970) pp. 59-95.

4. Howard L. Nostrand, "Empathy for a Second Culture: Motivations and Techniques," in Gilbert A. Jarvis, ed., Responding to New Realities, ACTFL Review of Foreign Language Education, Vol. V (Skokie, Illinois: National Textbook Company, 1974), pp. 263-327.

5. Seelye, op. cit.

6. Timothy J. Kloberdanz, The Volga German Catholic Life Cycle: An Ethnographic Reconstruction, unpublished M.A. Thesis (Colorado State University, 1974).

7. Anthony Papalia, op. cit., p. 18.

8. F. André Paquette, Project Director, A Handbook on Foreign Language Classroom Testing: French, German, Italian, Russian, Spanish (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1968).

9. Rebecca M. Valette, Modern Language Testing: a Handbook (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1967).

10. Rebecca M. Valette and Renee S. Disick, Modern Language Performance Objectives and Individualization (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1972).

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FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING IN THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE

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This year for the first time in the twenty-six-year history of the Pacific Northwest Conference on Foreign Languages, Language Teaching in the Two-Year College is recognized as a separate entity, stressing, therefore, the large share in foreign language teaching which community college instructors presently have. We as a professional group are beginning to monitor new developments in this area, and it seems appropriate at this point to try to describe in my remarks the present state of foreign language teaching in the community college with all its determining factors and limitations.

In opposition to those of our colleagues in the four-year institutions and universities who say that community college instructors are glorified teaching assistants, I would like to state that teaching at a community college is a most difficult and demanding task, especially in the area of foreign languages. There are a number of reasons why teaching anything at a community college requires utmost stamina, methodological skills, empathy with students, and administrative and political awareness on the part of the instructor.

The educational offerings at all community colleges are limited by law to the first two years of the university curriculum. In order to avoid predictable boredom, the foreign language instructor has only the choice of internal variation within the 101 through 203 series, besides instituting below-100 conversation courses or above-203 but below-300 level extra study opportunities for the gifted and demanding students, of whom there are always a few. The lack of substantial foreign language prerequisites in the state colleges and universities contributes to smaller numbers of students in foreign language classes. This in turn puts administrative and legislative pressures on the instructor to somehow increase the enrolment in his classes. If one adds to this the very mixed student population at community colleges, with major areas ranging from welders, ticket agents and respiratory therapists over nurses, accountants, data processors and fashion designers to future teachers, chemists, psychologists, doctors, lawyers and artists, and if one takes into account that 50 to 75% of them hold part-time or full-time jobs to finance their education, one can imagine how small a part of the students' lives is, mostly involuntarily, committed to the study of foreign languages. I am not implying that we should have stricter requirements and prerequisites to fill the ranks, but I personally find it immensely disappointing that our society does not inspire more voluntary language study.

With such great variation in career goals, one finds not surprisingly a wide disparity of intellectual abilities and educational preparation. It is by no means uncommon to find the victims of formerly

used unsound reading methods, who have remained functional illiterates in English, or to notice widespread ignorance about the most basic grammatical concepts. This rather grievous situation of general lack of language skills is in part left to the foreign language instructor to alleviate. As if all these factors were not enough to make an instructor's life hard, there is also the insensitive way in which state boards of community college education are trying to "quantify" the results of community college teaching. If classes are too small or the drop-out rate too high, caused by insurmountable deficiencies, the instructor faces cancellation of classes, cuts in pay, part-time status, even lay-off, called RIF, reduction in force. The mindless and professionally corrupting production of FTE's, full-time equivalents of student loads, coupled with the necessary lowering of standards in order to pass all, seems to be demanded by institutional FTE quotas and the state board's computerized accounting system.

As a consequence, the foreign language instructor finds himself in a manifold vise of pressures, and the fact that he retains any enthusiasm and desire to teach attests to his dedication to and the trust in the improvability of man. Many of you are familiar with the woes I have just described, and I need no longer dwell on them. Rather, I would like to discuss some specific aspects of community college foreign language teaching. First and foremost in our concerns are the students.

The entrance requirements for the Washington State community colleges are either the possession of a high school diploma or the age of eighteen years (and the ability to transport oneself to the campus, I might add). Usually, the students have high academic mobility, i.e. they come for one or three or six quarters, they enter at any quarter during the academic year and leave as soon as a four-year college or university accepts them, as soon as they have finished their specific career training or as soon as they find the next full-time job. Most of them need only two quarters of a foreign language, and very few students from the first year stay for the second. In analyzing the enrolment in foreign language classes, one should not underestimate the importance of the general socio-economic and educational level of the surrounding population. Foreign language interest and expectations by the students will depend on the economic and intellectual background of their families. To give examples: the inner core of a city or an industrial area will show less foreign language interest than certain wealthy suburbs with higher professional standing of the parents and future hopes for the children.

The next important factor in the community college's student body is its educational profile. There are some serious and highly intelligent and motivated students who are attracted to the community college by low tuition, smaller classes, more personal attention by the instructors, and possibly the proximity to home and families, which makes expensive boarding unnecessary. However, the majority of students in

the community colleges of lower socio-economic surroundings will only have trade or career education in mind. They come with rather poor educational preparation, and they bring with them the handicaps of deficiencies in mathematics, English, natural sciences, history, the arts and music, and especially in native and foreign language skills. Many deficiency-removing and learning skills courses as well as special labs and tutorial systems have to be instituted to give these students a chance to succeed in the above-100 courses. Out of sheer self defense, the foreign language instructor is forced to teach basic language skills, before he can begin to teach his foreign language. In short, the condemning verdict about the present public school system is this: it criminally shortchanges students not only in reading, writing, arithmetic and all the other areas of general knowledge, but it also does not instill in the students the joy of learning and knowing: motivation. The community college instructors are asked to cure all the ills of the twelve years of neglect, and many take this challenge very seriously. They literally lay the foundations for many a student's future education.

The socio-economic and educational profiles of the foreign language students in particular have an enormous effect on how the instructor schedules and conducts his classes. He will have to offer 101 and 102 every quarter to satisfy deficiency requirements and mobility. He must offer a parallel first-year evening program which makes the transfer between day and evening classes possible. He must also provide classes of interest to non-academic, career-oriented students. But how he conducts his classes is of utmost importance to his own and the students' success. Textbooks and other material should be chosen to satisfy the practical inclinations of the students, especially in the 100 series. Therefore, books which teach vocabulary and grammar in a vacuum or in fictitious academic surroundings would be regarded as highly irrelevant by the students, who think of speaking everyday practical utterances when they hear of learning a language. Ideally, the textbook should initially teach the expression of personal data in order to fill out application forms, the necessary phrases for asking directions and prices of meals, hotel rooms and the like. This way, the student will have the justified feeling that even after a few lessons he could get along somewhat in that country. I am not implying that Berlitz is the answer to community college foreign language teaching. On the contrary, hand in hand with these speaking skills must go sound grammatical explanations and exercises as well as constant practice in reading, writing and translating. Given the minimally prepared students I have just described to you, how does one do it? Constant pressure and good methodological principles will do it, nothing else. A few simple but specific rules which I have gleaned in my career from colleagues, and which I follow, may illustrate my point:

Rule 1: Cover the material thoroughly and make assignments abundantly clear.

Rule 2: Leave nothing to chance, always explain everything once, twice and three times, and do not tire of it.

Rule 3: At the end of every section, give oral reviews by overcoming your own sluggishness and making up 10 or 20 phrases or sentences with which the students can review and train their retention span.

Rule 4: Give group dictations at the board--it works wonders.

Rule 5: Insist on good oral participation and presentation in class, such as reading, answering and retelling.

Rule 6: Teach students to ask questions! For every section of material make up suggestions which students turn around into questions which should be answered, too.

Rule 7: Always use the text material for personal conversations among the students, with the help of your instructions. The students have a right to apply to their own purposes all the foreign language material they are learning.

Rule 8: Before the weekly quizzes, which should include dictations, questions and grammatical exercises, assign written homework for every unit, correct it promptly and insist on excellence by asking for corrections.

Rule 9: If you use a tape program along with your book, schedule certain lab hours during the week for all of your students at once; be there, too, and listen in on their oral work, correct mistakes and let them know whether their participation is satisfactory or not.

Rule 10: Have patience, firmness and most of all good humour, it is appreciated.

These general rules apply to all first-year courses, with the addition of beginning paper writing in the middle of 102 and the reading of a graded reader in the second half of 102. In 103, in addition to the basic textbook, one needs a carefully graded reader of interesting stories or other material that take the doldrums out of programmed conversations. Counteract the students' superficial reading habits with carefully guiding questions, first concerning the facts, later attempting an interpretation. Insist on very brief retelling of the material on both the factual and the interpretational level. This exercise should help the student with organizing simple material. Some do not have this skill. At this point, I would like to add a word about memorizing conversations or paragraphs. Some of my colleagues find memorization helpful as a pronunciation and oral recitation exercise. I tend to think that memorization emphasizes the fact that something be memorized and not what is to be learned and truly assimilated.

Thus, students miss the living spirit and the variability of language. Lively question and answer sessions which review and vary the material intelligently, seem to me much more beneficial. The only memorization I ask is that of self-chosen poems from the readers, and this the students really enjoy!

So far, I have talked mainly about first-year instruction. The same good habits but with different distribution apply to the second year. In 201, again all basic skills such as reading, writing, speaking, understanding, listening, translating and grammar have to be equally stressed, because here the students come from many different backgrounds and have to be brought to one level. Some are former first-year students, some have finished three or four years of a foreign language in high school, some may have learned their foreign language during an extended stay in Europe, some may even be native speakers with poor educational background. In the first quarter, a mix of a thorough grammatical review and relevant reading seems in order. All the rules of intensive teaching from the first year apply here. In 202 and 203 at the community college, one is likely to have left only a few dedicated and serious students, sometimes potential majors. Give them the best in teaching and in materials, read stimulating literature and cultural texts, let them expand their general knowledge with the foreign language. In 203, attempt an introduction to the forms and periods of your respective literature. A warning: avoid single long works for any one quarter. At least a weekly change keeps the interest going.

Beyond such a two-year program, there are a number of other opportunities a community college foreign language instructor can give his students. Many humanity or foreign language divisions provide for general Special Studies credits. So, offer to second- and good first-year students anything they might like to study on a personal, contractual basis: paper writing, reading the Bible, reading special authors, reading the political and cultural history of the country whose language they are studying. Since a number of our foreign language students are actually natural science students, scientific reading can and should be offered on a personal arrangement or formal course basis, the prerequisite being 101 or an equivalent which you determine. You might even attract some of your own colleagues!

Lately, very desperate foreign language instructors have branched out into teaching foreign literatures in translation or other non-language cultural courses. This is possible only when other teaching staff in the humanities, literature, art, and history do not object. They have their own skins to save. But these non-language courses have no place in this discussion.

With the increase in the percentage of occupational offerings in the community colleges, there has been a definite movement toward teaching alternate foreign language classes to career-interested students not in need of the traditional college series. From my own

observation at our college it is obvious that, in contrast to our successful evening conversation classes, the daytime equivalent classes, especially in German, have not done too well. Surprisingly, the students in the air transport and business programs are not taking advantage of these new below-100 classes. Other community colleges have tried to offer occupation-oriented foreign language classes, after the students have completed a first-year series. I have grave doubts that I could make secretaries, business majors, stewardesses, and ticket agents attend foreign language classes for almost two years. Many leave the college after a few quarters, or they have such tight program schedules that they could not possibly fit in any extended foreign language study. Much further discussion and innovation is needed in the area of foreign language classes for the career-oriented student.

Instructors at many community colleges are plagued by administrative and political problems quite detrimental to good instruction. Many colleagues have beginning foreign language class enrolment ceilings of 30, 35 or more students. If you have ever tried to teach a 101 with 35 to 38 students in it, you know that 16 to 20 is the ideal number. With recent declining enrolments, this enrolment ceiling dilemma has had another infernal effect. If the enrolment ceiling of 35 is equal to 100% teaching effort, a relatively large class of 20 to 25 students is then only a 60 to 70% teaching effort by the instructor, or so the narrow-minded reasoning goes! This in turn gives cause for only slightly veiled threats from the administration to eliminate classes, instructors or whole programs. Our second-year classes are traditionally small, and often we are politely but determinedly asked to teach more than our regular 15 credits to fulfill our quota of FTE's.

There still exists sometimes the deplorable condition of employing too many part-time instructors in areas where full-time positions could easily be created but where it is financially advantageous for the division or the college to break up full-time loads into many low-paid part-time appointments. Usually, part-time instructors have few or no rights to determine materials and course content, they are frustrated professionally by the lack of continuity in their teaching efforts, and they are often not around long enough to take full interest and share in college activities outside their actual teaching obligations. Why should they? The danger lies in the fact that such part-time instructors can be bossed around easily by administrations and a relatively small core of full-time, tenured staff, and this ultimately leads to poor class selection and scheduling, lack of program coherence, maybe a lowering of standards and enrolment, and a generally pessimistic, unhappy and rebellious atmosphere which does not have a good influence on the quality of foreign language instruction. It is of utmost importance to all full- and part-time foreign language instructors that they expose and criticize conditions such as extremely high enrolment ceilings, unfair class cancellations and the exploitation of part-time faculty wherever these conditions may occur. The foreign language

instructor must counteract administrative pressures in those areas with constant vigilance and any other means at his disposal, namely complaining to anyone willing to listen, making proposals, even demands, to their instructional councils, the senate, the dean or the board of trustees etc., and if necessary, seeking the help of the designated bargaining agent, if that is possible.

Summing up my remarks, I would like to state again that the community college foreign language instructor is a very hard-working and hard-pressed individual who deserves to be given credit for his efforts by his colleagues in the four-year colleges and universities. The times of easy job-hopping every three years or so are over. After finishing the Master's degree or the Ph.D, which is held by approximately 12 to 15% of the instructors, many of us have been in one teaching position for six to ten years and have acquired valuable expertise in teaching the first two years of a foreign language. We must make our voices heard by our colleagues, and we should share our experiences in teaching in the professional journals and at conferences such as this one.

I would like to finish by saying that the community college foreign language instructor will survive as a species in these hard financial times only if he continues to hold his own, if he strives to improve his teaching through personal integrity, high professional standards, beneficial innovations, personal charisma, insistence on quality performance by his students, and firmness tempered by great willingness to help the ignorant. In the end, he will be respected and he will have enough students eager to be instructed by him if he is known to be just and incorruptible in evaluating work and skills in areas which he has taught well; when he does this, truly educated students will emerge from his classes. Such are the few rewards of community college foreign language teaching, and they make it all worthwhile.

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UNPUZZLING THE PUZZLE: MODERN POETRY IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING

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The following is a practical method-demonstration: How do you use an enigmatic modern poem in a beginning foreign language class just after the basic language elements have been covered?

Justification: Why a poem? Why devote 50 minutes of class time to a poem? Foremost, it is simply a change of pace, something quite different from the textbook material, and, therefore, in itself attractive; secondly, a bit of learning psychology enters into it: beginning language students take pride in discovering their own ability to understand a sophisticated original product of the foreign language; and, thirdly, it serves as an innocent introduction into literature, the forbidden territory, sneaked in by the backdoor, as it were.

Topic: Why a modern poem? Traditional poetry works with complete sentences; hence, the meaning is easier to comprehend, but the sometimes archaic, always poetic vocabulary is beyond the beginning language student. By contrast, modern poetry uses contemporary language, is often highly condensed, a mere enumeration of unconnected metaphors, demanding, therefore, a minimum of new vocabulary. Many metaphors are, of course, unusual, enigmatic, mere ciphers - what do they mean? The sense is difficult to divine, not only for the beginning language student; they are, in fact, a puzzle. And that is precisely their attraction: trying to unpuzzle the puzzle keeps up the suspense, offers a challenge to the students, not often encountered in language study.

Method: How to unpuzzle this puzzle? Do the same thing the poet does: take his words literally, take them at their concrete connotations, step by step, line by line. In doing that, you cover all aspects of language and literature, such as vocabulary and imagery, syntax, tenses and moods, puctuation, rhythm. Use the blackboard for quick graphs; do not hesitate to start with elementary observations ("an eye is round"), involving all students, and you can proceed as far as your students desire to the sophisticated meaning ("difficulty of communication"). Use the foreign language throughout, ask precise questions, i.e., simple in formulation and answer-cued; keep a brisk pace --- and don't be surprised if your students' insights surpass your own! Yes, take the poet at his word, and the word will make sense.

The following demonstration is based on a German poem (original text and translation are attached), but the method is, of course, transferable to all foreign language instruction and adaptable to all levels of language competency and intellectual maturity. The demonstration is a condensed version of 50 minutes of classroom

conversation with students, based on actual experiences. The questions are simple, to indicate they are in the target language, in this case German; the students may answer in German or English, as this is not a language exercise: I want their mental involvement, not a test of their German fluency; students' answers are postulated, but every teacher knows that you can get the answers you need to make your point if your questions are effectively cued.

Handout of texts. Handout to students shows German text only; a translation counteracts the justification for doing this poem: it removes the suspense and challenge, and it is often misleading (as in this case in v. 1, 2, 16). Handout does not contain verse numbers - they distort the original look.

Teacher reading of poem. Read the poem out loud, author, title, text, and read with intelligent emphasis, changing pace and volume of your voice, spacing words, making proper pauses - in short, interpreting while you are reading, making sense of condensed grammar sections, and juxtaposing the descriptive parts (sober voice) to the thought rendering passages (e.g., v. 11-14: lower your voice, give it intensity).

Ask students to number the verse lines: now is the time to do this, so reference during discussion is made easier. Check that everybody counts 19 verses (lines).

Start discussion without discussing title: let's leave title to the last; title is the actual puzzle; we may understand it after we have gone through the poem.

Read the stanza once more before discussing it.

v. 1: "Augenrund" - what does this mean? Look at each other, look at your eyes! What shape are they? Oblong. Which is the part with which you see? The round thing in the center. What color is it? Black. What is it named in English? Pupil. Good - same thing in German (write new words on blackboard). What surrounds the black round pupil? A ring, a circle. What color is that? (Students will name different colors they see in their neighbors' eyes.) What is it called in English. Iris. Good - same thing in German. The iris reflects the light, grows darker in dark surroundings (give examples). So what do we have? Go to blackboard and quickly sketch large eye - without lashes.) Do we have all parts of the eye? Look at the window, look at the light (sun)! It is too bright for the naked eye, the eye protects itself; how? It lowers its lids and the curtain of its lashes. Stare at the light - move your eye lashes up and down, slowly up and down, now faster and faster up and down - what happens? Is the light still steady? How does it appear? It flickers - yes. (Go to the blackboard, equip your large eye with lashes, long strokes downward:) Lashes, sticks, bars - "Stäbe". (Read v. 1 once more:) Look at this sentence - is it a sentence? Yes - it ends with a period. Is it a complete grammatical sentence with subject, verb, object? No. What is missing?

The verb. Yes - and the verb denotes activity. So this sentence is not a statement of activity, it is merely a description, it lists things which are still, static.

v. 2-4: "Flimmertier Lid" - why is the lid flickering? We know that already. Why is it called an animal? It moves. How do we know that from this sentence? Here is a verb - "rudern". Yes - here is action, it speaks of rowing. Where do we row? In a boat. On land? No - on water. Is there water in the eye? Yes - liquid, tears. So when the protective lid moves upward, when the lid with its lashes which puts the eye behind bars is lifted, then the eye is free. Free to do what? Free to receive the pictures around us, sky, earth, trees, men - impressions which are transferred to our brain, soul, heart. And vice versa, the eye is free to transfer our own interior to the exterior, our thinking, feeling - our expressions. Have you heard of the saying: his entire soul lies in his eyes?. So communication cuts both ways: from outside through our eyes to inside; from inside through our eyes to outside.

v. 5-6: Two nouns are mentioned, which? "Iris, Schwimmerin" - we already know what that means - and "Himmel", and both are qualified by adjectives. What color is the sky? (Note that in German "sky" and "heaven" are the same word, "Himmel".) "Herzgrau"; "gray" - is that a brilliant joyful color? No - dim, sad. So the color carries connotation of mood. How is the heart? Sad. There is a connection here, between sky and heart, "Himmel" and "Herz" - notice how the alliteration ties them together - both are gray, sad. This mood from the heart is reflected in the eye: How does the iris look? "traumlos" and "trüb" - notice the alliteration -, dreamless and dim: the eye looks sad, because the heart is sad. But this sad, gray look of the eye is at the same time a reflection of something outside: the sky. Outside impressions pass through the eye inward; inside expressions go through the eye outward. Here heart, eye, sky are all gray and sad - or, vice versa, sky, eye, heart are dim and dreamless: the entire world is sad and hopeless. Notice v. 5: Where is the verb? No verb - another description of something static. The eye is just a mirror of outside and inside, denoting a passive attitude.

Let's pause for a moment. What is the locale here, outside or inside? Outside - why? Sky is the keyword. What else do we see? Do we see anything? Yes, the eye - nothing else. Do we see the eye in detail? Yes, we are quite close to it. We are so close to things that we see only fragments of things, fragments of persons; nothing forms a complete picture. How many people are present? At least two. Why? Description of the opposite eye can only be done by the second person's eye.

v. 7-10: There is a shift of perspective now, we go from the outside to the inside - of a house, perhaps; how do we know that? v. 8, "der blakende Span," interior lighting, and v. 15, "Fliesen," floor tiles. "Splinter," is that a bright light? No. Moreover, it is

"smouldering," very dim light indeed - as dim, "trüb," as the sky outside, as gray, "grau," as the mood of the heart inside (v. 5-6 above). Any verb in v. 7-8? No - another static description. But now, v. 9-10, there is an explanation, a direct connection made: "Am Lichtsinn errätst du die Seele." Look back at the relation between heart and sky, light and mood, inside and outside, reflected in the eye, the mirror of the soul: How much "light," happiness, is in the soul when the only light consists of a "smouldering splinter"? We can paraphrase the verse: By the sense of light - in the eye - you guess the mood of the soul. Is this soul happy? No.

Skip the next stanza. Go to v. 15-19: "Die Fliesen." Period. What does a floor of tiles look like, geometrically? Lines criss-crossing horizontally and vertically, making a pattern of squares (quickly draw design on blackboard), like a fence, like bars. And upon the tiles, "dicht beieinander, die beiden herzgrauen Lachen" - what "pools"? There is a colon, the explanation follows: "zwei" (pause!) "Mundvoll Schweigen." The "pools," puddles, have an adjective, what color are they? "heart-gray" - same color as the sky in v. 6. "pools" - what water is this? Could it be the tears of sadness coming from the gray heart? There are two, they are close to each other, but they are not with each other ("beieinander," not "miteinander"; notice also that "beiden" in v. 16, implying a coupling of two, is restated flatly as "zwei" in v. 18, an unrelated number). They are separate, the two round puddles, as round as the two mouths which open and are full - of what? Words? No - silence, nothing. Is there any verb in this stanza? None, merely a listing of static conditions, no action, no speech, no getting together - only two passive pools of gray silence. How many people are here? Now we know for certain - two. How close are we to the things described? We only see details - tiles, pools, fragments of a whole which has disappeared because we are too close to it. Reality becomes unreal in its fragmented components.

And yet there remains a yearning for a change in this static condition of final separation - look at the stanza in parentheses, v. 11-14. There is an "I" and a "you," and they would like to be one: "Wär ich wie du. Wärst du wie ich." But notice the stern punctuation sign of the period between these statements, so alike, and yet so separate. What mood does the verb show? Indicative, reality, fact? No - subjunctive, unreality, hypothesis, hope, wish: that which could be, but which is not. The "you" and the "I" are not alike, not together, not one, but separate. It used to be different - look at v. 12-13: the tradewinds blew them both in the same direction (explain characteristics of tradewinds); they used to be one (notice the italics of "unter *einem* Passat"). When did this unity exist? Look at the verb tense! Past tense - it used to be, it is not now. What then is now? See the verb tense in v. 14: Now you and I are separate, worse: strangers - we do not know each other, we are irrevocably apart forever. This stanza has a new verb form in each line - to show us the passage of time and the change of relation. Why is the stanza in parentheses?

The entire tone differs from the description of outward phenomena in the other stanzas; here we have thoughts! Whose thoughts? Each of the two people could have them - and yet, they do not share their thoughts, they remain thoughts, not words, for their mouths are full of silence - no communication can pass between them anymore.

Even the sounds in this poem denote this separation of the "I" and the "you": There is an alternation between light vowels - German i, ei, e, the "ich"-sounds - and dark vowels - German a, au, o, u, the "du"-sounds. You don't believe that? Look for them - circle light vowels in red ink, dark vowels in green, and you will find a convincing, colorful pattern. For example, in the second stanza, v. 2-4 are "ich"-vowels (i-i-i -- i-ei-i-ei), surrounding v. 3 with its "du"-vowels (au-o -- au-u-a). Try v. 15-17 yourselves - what do you find? (Check the findings.) Now compare the corresponding vowel pattern of the first and last line of the poem: v. 1 - au-u followed by i-e-ä - and v. 19 - u-o followed by ei-e. And is this pattern not given in the title even of the poem: "Sprachgitter", a-followed by -i? Doesn't the vowel distribution show that "du" and "ich" are irrevocably separate?

The rhythmic pattern of the poem emphasizes this separation of "du" and "ich." Listen to the rhythm: Where are the accented syllables, how many unaccented syllables follow each time (Ignore the distinction between "meter" and "rhythm" at this point; read out loud with clearly exaggerated accentuation): v.1, "Augenrund zwischen den Stäben": accent -no, no - accent -no, no; or: yes - no, no - yes - no, no - yes - no; or: v. 2-4; or: v. 7-8 and v. 9-10 (each two lines forming one complete pattern), or: v. 15-17 --- again and again we get the pattern: yes - no, no - yes - no, no, that is actually: one - two, three - one - two, three, that is: waltz tempo (show pattern on blackboard; the technical term "dactylic" need not be mentioned). The waltz is a romantic dance for two people moving together in the same rhythm - but in this poem this dancing rhythm is harshly broken: Where? Look at v. 11: "Wär ich wie du. Wärst du wie ich" - one - two, three - one -- period, break, sharp separation, and new beginning: one - two, three - one -- period. The rhythm is desired by either, but it remains separate. v. 12 and 13 form one pattern of dancing rhythm, indicating the past unity. And now comes the cruel break, v. 14, listen closely: "Wir sind Fremde": accent - no - accent - no, or: one - two - one two sharp staccato, completely different pattern (show on blackboard, "trochaic"). V. 11 with its wish "if only" expresses the longing of this poem - the line stands at the center of the poem, nine lines preceding it, nine lines following -, but v. 14 cancels the hope out. And so does the last verse, v. 19. Listen to the dancing rhythm of v. 15-17 - then follows the colon - and thereafter the rhythm is changed once more: "zwei" (pause) "Mundvoll Schweigen": accent - no - accent - no; or: one - two - one - two -- the harsh staccato of hopelessness. (Show on blackboard that v. 14 and v. 19 are the only verses with trochaic meter in the entire poem.) Even the title displays this pattern of hopeless separation: "Sprach-gitter" - two accented syllables following each other in German demand a pause between them - separation.

And what about the metaphors (images) in this poem? They, too, form a pattern of finite duality, irrevocable separation. There are ring (circle) images and line (bar) images. The "ring" images (draw a circle in red around them) occur in v. 1, "Augenrund," v. 7, "Tülle," v. 19, "Mundvoll"; they are accompanied and contrasted throughout with "line" images (draw a green square around them): in v. 1, "Stäbe," v. 8, "Span," v. 15, "Fliesen." Now what does our color scheme show us? A variation on the theme of the first verse of the poem: eye-round between bars, behind a fence, in a prison.

And this then is the meaning of the title of this poem: "Sprachgitter," i.e., language behind bars, inability to articulate the soul's yearning. This is a poem of lost love, of lost communication, of the sadness of man's condition: each man imprisoned behind the bars of his own silence.

Read the poem once more, with all the necessary emphasis; this time your students will fully understand and appreciate its meaning. You have taken the poet at his word, and the word has become sense; your students will proudly feel that they all by themselves have unpuzzled the puzzle!

Paul Celan (1959)

Sprachgitter

Augenrund zwischen den Stäben.

Flimmertier Lid
rudert nach oben,
gibt einen Blick frei.

Iris, Schwimmerin, traumlos und trüb:
der Himmel, herzgrau, muss nah sein.

Schräg, in der eisernen Tülle,
der blakende Span.
Am Lichtsinn
errätst du die Seele.

(Wär ich wie du. Wärst du wie ich.
Standen wir nicht
unter einem Passat?
Wir sind Fremde.)

Die Fliesen. Darauf,
dicht beieinander, die beiden
herzgrauen Lachen:
zwei
Mundvoll Schweigen.

Paul Celan, Speech-Grille, transl. Joachim Neugroschel, E.P. Dutton, New York 1971.

Speech-Grille

Eye-orb between the bars.

Ciliary lid
rows upwards,
releases a gaze.

Iris, swimmer, dreamless and dim:
the sky, heart-gray, must be near.

Skew, in the iron socket,
the smouldering splinter.
By the sense of light
you guess the soul.

(Were I like you. Were you like me.
Did we not stand
under one tradewind?
We are strangers.)

The tiles. Upon them,
close together, the two
heart-gray pools:
two
mouthfuls of silence.

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STUDY ABROAD AND THE FIRST-YEAR STUDENT

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Foreign language teachers are all aware of the attack on the foreign language requirements of American universities which occurred during the late sixties and early seventies. The University of Colorado also suffered from these attacks, which resulted in several changes. In 1969, the amount of required FL study was reduced from four semesters to three, and although subsequent proposals were made to eliminate the requirement altogether, each of them failed.

In spite of this, the faculty continued to seek additional alternatives. In the fall of 1973, a program which would allow the student to complete the three semester (13 hours) requirement in a single semester abroad was instituted. The new program was placed in the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Veracruz in Jalapa, Mexico. There were several reasons for choosing Jalapa. It is a small town of 130,000 inhabitants with a low cost of living. The University of Veracruz enjoys a good academic reputation within Mexico, and is not plagued by strikes as often as other Mexican institutions. Also, since the town is not included among the common tourist routes, hardly any English is spoken there. Indeed, the setting is ideal for an intensive study abroad program, except for the large amount of rainfall which makes for a sometimes depressing climate.

The University of Colorado Study Abroad Program in Jalapa operates two levels of courses during the fall, and three levels during the spring semester. In the fall these levels are beginning and intermediate Spanish. Beginning students arrive in Mexico with no Spanish and the intermediate students arrive with three semesters of college study completed. The third level, offered in the spring semester only, is for advanced students, generally Spanish majors, who take regular courses at the University of Veracruz.

While the beginning students generally report satisfaction with the program, many of the faculty in Boulder question the appropriateness of sending students abroad with zero command of the foreign language. It is felt that these students will suffer from greater culture shock, will not be able to establish satisfactory friendships with local nationals, and will form an English speaking enclave as a defense mechanism.

There is also the question of credit. There is no doubt that the intermediate level student with a previously attained knowledge of vocabulary and structure, will soon learn to use his Spanish with automaticity in conversation with local natives. In addition, he will learn even more of the language through such conversations. But what about the beginner: Can he, without the advantages of out-of-class reinforcement, learn as much Spanish in one semester abroad as does his counterpart in

North America in three? Even if there is no difference in classroom contact hours, isn't it helpful to have additional time to assimilate the material? The question is a valid one, and because of it, the writer decided to research the matter more thoroughly.

Carroll and Carton, of Harvard and M.I.T. respectively, were probably the first to investigate the question of when a student would most be able to profit from foreign study. In their study, students who had taken Russian in college for one and two years, were given a six weeks intensive course in conversation and then sent on a tour of the Soviet Union for the rest of the summer of 1959. On subsequent tests upon returning, those who had studied two years of the language made greater post-treatment gains in the language than those who had studied the language only one year.[1] Because of this Carroll concluded that the student will profit from foreign study in geometric proportion to his command of the language at the time of departure from the United States.

Carroll has done other research which sheds light on the problem of the intensive course for beginners. When working on the Modern Language Aptitude Test, he concluded that language aptitude could be defined as an inverse function of the amount of time which would be required for the learner to attain a specified degree of skill in the use of the foreign language.[2] That is, the question of whether an individual can learn a language at all is settled when he learns his native language. Therefore, the only thing that varies among foreign language learners is the amount of time needed to accomplish the task. Consequently, Carroll concludes that the student of average and below average language aptitude may have greater difficulty with the accelerated pace of learning in an intensive program.[3] This same student, given three semesters to assimilate the material, might perform as well as many students of higher aptitude, since sufficient time to learn the language is available to accomodate the pace of both.

In order to obtain objective feedback on this question, the writer administered the Modern Language Association Cooperative Spanish Test, Form MA, published by Educational Testing Service, to the eight beginning students enrolled in the Jalapa program during the fall of 1974.[4] At this point it should be stated that of the 30 students enrolled in the program, only ten were in the beginning group, and two of these withdrew, one due to an intestinal infection, and the other due to a death in the family. The sections of the test administered were listening, reading, and writing. It was not possible to test the speaking skill due to problems in obtaining the test tape for that section.

All three sections were given on separate days during the last week of class. The answers to the writing test were written in the test booklet, while answers to the listening and reading sections were marked on the optional IBM 1230 answer sheet. Each section was timed and presented exactly according to instructions in the Directions for Administering and Scoring.[5] Environmental conditions for proper testing were a problem only during the listening portion of the test. The only

reel-to-reel tape recorder available to the investigator was a portable model which, although of good quality, could not provide satisfactory volume for the circumstances.

The Faculty of Humanities of the University of Veracruz is located in a fairly old building in downtown Jalapa, with the result that trucks and busses without mufflers and cars with blaring horns were a constant interference to comprehension.[6] In spite of student protests, none of the tape was replayed. Thus it is probable that true scores on this section are higher than the obtained scores reported here.

Kuder-Richardson 20 reliability coefficients for the listening and reading tests are reported in the test Handbook to be .90.[7] Reliability of the writing test is .92. This meets the Standards for Educational and Psychological Tests and Manuals of the American Educational Research Association.[8]

Results

Table I shows the percentile ranking of each student for each of the skills tested. Percentile rankings indicate the percentage of scores in the norms that fell below the score obtained by the student in question. Thus, Brennan's score of 81 means that 81% of the students tested nationally obtained scores lower than hers. Therefore, the "average" or median student would have a percentile rank of 50. This also represents the middle score of the norms, which were based on 430 students randomly selected

TABLE I

STUDENT PERFORMANCE ON MLA SPANISH TEST BY SKILL AND PERCENTILE RANK

Name	Listening	Reading	Writing
Brennan	81	77	96
Garcia	85	53	67
Gove	67	50	93
Hill	52	53	65
MacDevitt	47	61	35
Ryan	33	45	48
Stritter	75	53	53

Name	Listening	Reading	Writing
Thomas	85	50	59
Mean*	65.6	55.2	64.5

*Refers to the average of the group.

from 32 colleges, and which, theoretically, are a representative sample of 4th semester college classes for the entire nation. Unfortunately, third semester norms were never established thus making it impossible to draw comparisons with other third semester students.

The mean rank of the class for each skill is also shown, and in each case is substantially above the median. High scores are most notable for the listening and writing skills with mean rankings 65.6 and 64.5 respectively. The latter is slightly skewed by MacDevitt's 35, which is due to his finishing only three-fourths of the test.

The results of the test indicate that at least this group was able to learn three semesters of Spanish in three and a half months abroad. In fact, it learned the equivalent of four semesters.

The order of the results by skill is not surprising. The instructional program emphasizes productive skills. Students are given one to two hours of written homework daily and approximately two-thirds of in-class time is devoted to conversational practice. Reading was the least emphasized area of the program and was limited to dialogues, which were later memorized, and a few short reading selections. Some students, however, reported trying to read the newspaper on their own initiative, and one student, Brennan, read several of the literary works abridged for English speaking students in the program library.

While it was not possible to test the speaking skill, the writer believes that the best results would have been obtained in this area had it been tested. Indeed, Carroll's study of Russian students showed greatest gains in oral fluency. Hopefully, during the present semester, it will be possible to substantiate this in Jalapa also.

Conclusions

This study has made no effort to challenge Carroll's findings that language gains abroad are geometric to the student's skills upon beginning his sojourn. However, Carroll's reservations about the interaction of language aptitude and accelerated pace seem unfounded when applied to

study abroad as based on the results of this study. It may be that the results would be different for an intensive program at home. When the beginning student arrives abroad with no knowledge of the foreign language he is unable to communicate with anyone, especially in an isolated town such as Jalapa. If he lives with a host family, the need to communicate is felt even more. Because of this all students, regardless of aptitude, study the material presented until it is assimilated. For some this involves more effort than for others, depending, of course, on their natural language aptitude. However, when motivation is high, and circumstances are similar to those of first language learning, almost everyone can succeed, as long as the amount of material presented is reasonable. At this point, replications of this study with larger groups and in different settings are needed. The University of Colorado program in Jalapa operates classes of six to ten students and places each with a different Mexican family. Further studies might show such situations to be determining factors in the degree of skills attained. If such were the case, this information would simplify the problem of evaluating programs for both students and administrators. It could also lead to the establishment by the profession of a set of standards for study abroad programs, a program about which much has been said, but little has been done.

NOTES

[1] A.S. Carton, and J.B. Carroll, The 1959 Summer Russian Language Learning Program: Final Report of Testing Project (Cambridge, Mass.: Graduate School of Education, Harvard Univ., 1960, mimeographed).

[2] J. B. Carroll, "A Factor Analysis of Two Foreign Language Aptitude Batteries", in Journal of General Psychology, LIX (1959), 155-159.

[3] J. B. Carroll, "Research on Teaching Foreign Languages," in Handbook of Research on Teaching, N. L. Gage, editor (New York: Rand McNally, 1963), p. 1089.

[4] Modern Language Association, MLA Cooperative Foreign Language Tests: Spanish, Form MA (Princeton: Educational Testing Service, 1965).

[5] Modern Language Association, MLA Cooperative Foreign Language Tests: Directions for Administering and Scoring, Ibid.

[6] This problem is also mentioned in a separate evaluation of the University of Veracruz's summer program for foreign students. See Lincoln Canfield, Ed., "Evaluation of Summer Schools for American Students and Teachers of Spanish in Mexico and Spain: A Progress Report," in Hispania, LVII (March, 1974), 129.

[7] Modern Language Association, MLA Cooperative Foreign Language Tests: Handbook, Idem., p. 21.

[8] American Educational Research Association and National Council on Measurement in Education, Standards for Educational and Psychological Tests and Manuals (Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association, 1966).

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THE ENVIRONMENTAL APPROACH TO LANGUAGE LEARNING, PART I

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The Cultural Setting as an Introduction to Language Learning*

One of the greatest difficulties in teaching languages to students in North America is that it generally must be done in a vacuum. English is the dominant language (and culture) from the Northwest Territories to the Gulf of Mexico and those members of the population who do speak other languages such as French-Canadians or Chicanos are not generally sought out by our students for the purposes of communicating in that other language. Some of this is changing, however, and the members of these groups are certainly exhibiting new pride in their heritage and a renewed interest in their language. Both the teaching of French in Canada and the teaching of Spanish in the United States have been affected by this trend. The study of German has no such constituency to draw on. The great waves of German immigration are past, Germans are scattered throughout Canada and the United States and even in areas such as Wisconsin or Texas, where German settlement has been quite dense, Germans have become quite well integrated and their children -- our students -- seldom speak the language of their ancestors.

The image our students have of Germans and Germany have to a large extent been shaped by the media. The news media tell our students that the Germans are buying up the world they could not conquer in two world wars, and (indirectly at least) point to Haldemann and Ehrlichmann as examples of German mentality. Advertising of imports emphasizes superior German workmanship; travel posters show pastoral scenes and fairy tale architecture, as witnessed by the continuing popularity of Castle Neuschwanstein! There are many castles in Germany which can convey a better example of German architecture, as well as of the life and times in which they were built, than the artificial nostalgia mixture which Neuschwanstein represents. Popular entertainment has done its share to shape the German image. Thirty years after World War II, Hogan's Heroes and old war movies are still riding the air waves. Quite often the only German our students do know is "Jawohl, Herr Kommandant!"

These popular conceptions of Germany and the Germans feed on and in turn produce stereotypes which extend to the language itself. Those who would call German a "gutsy, man's language" have probably only heard stereotyped militarists barking in old war movies, rather than the singing of Lotte Lenya or Elizabeth Schwarzkopf. The vacuum in German environment is thus partially filled by stereotypes we could well do without.

As teachers of language, we should endeavor to create -- or recreate -- the environment of which the language we teach is a part. The best way to do this is to take our students abroad, of course, although this is hardly a realistic goal for most of us. But there are other possibilities. We

* I would like to thank my colleague, Kenneth J. Fleurant, for help in preparing this article.

can teach culture courses, we can tap the "other culture" resources of our community such as international restaurants, foreign residents, visitors and recent immigrants; we can institute foreign language clubs and sponsor plays and movie series. They can all contribute to the student's experience of the other culture.

The value of teaching culture is now generally recognized and it has become almost superfluous to point out that one is not dealing with culture in the sense of refinement and the fine arts and humanities, but rather with culture in its anthropological sense of "the totality of socially transmitted behavior patterns, arts, beliefs, institutions, and all other products of human work and thought characteristic of a community or population."[1] If the former definition creeps in now and then, it is generally not intentional; it is also not very surprising. Most of us were taught to think of culture in terms of the arts, the humanities. This is also the area of our greatest expertise and it is perhaps only natural that we fall back on that which we have learned.

Culture can of course be taught --or it might be better to say "analyzed" -- as part of language study itself. This is something which most of us did even before it was in vogue. When confronted with aspects of the foreign culture which students were likely to find puzzling, we have generally taken time out to explain and to illustrate the point further. In recent years this incorporation of culture into language and/or literature study has become more systematized. Suggested approaches in the professional literature range from cultural capsules, units or clusters which illustrate cultural attitudes and symbols in compact and sometimes dramatized form,[2] to audio-motor units whose main focus is the acting out of customs of the other culture.[3] At the March 1975 German Studies Conference in Bloomington, Indiana, Heinz Bulmahn discussed the effectiveness of posters and slogans for increasing cultural awareness, and a University of Indiana teaching assistant demonstrated how a literature class can use a character facing old age as a point of departure for a discussion of the social security system in the West German and American cultures. Although these cultural lessons can and should be begun at the same time as language learning, the process of conveying a sense of the cultural environment of the foreign language by this method is a gradual, not to say haphazard one.

More systematic is the entire course devoted to culture or civilization. In the past, such courses frequently dealt with what Nelson Brooks has called Olympian rather than Hearthstone culture.[4] That is, they proceeded in strict chronological fashion and used literature, philosophy and fine arts merely as illustrations of history without ever coming to grips with the realities of the everyday cultural life of a country. This is still reflected in many of our cultural readers. Such courses are changing, however. More and more instructors are including diverse elements such as social justice and legal systems in their syllabus. An example is Volkmar Sanders' recent course description in Unterrichtspraxis. Called "Aspects of German Culture" and taught in German, the course is an upper

division and graduate level course treating German history from the beginnings to the present time. It includes a section on "Rechtssysteme" and "Soziale Institutionen." The author suggests that "by adding more mimeographed texts or relying more on the bibliography supplemented by excerpts from Die Zeit or Der Spiegel, the course can easily be adapted for seminars on individual topics such as contrastive comparative jurisprudence or the interdependence of socialization and the so-called 'economic miracle'."[5]

A whole program devoted to the study of another culture, of course, whether part of a language department or organized independently, offers the most comprehensive approach to cultural study. The Institute of German Studies at the Indiana University has developed a program which deals with the four German culture areas -- East and West Germany, Austria and Switzerland -- in the post war era. Both survey courses and topical courses have been developed, such as "Contemporary Germany since 1945" or "Postwar German Literature and Society." They are taught in English in the area studies tradition for their own sake rather than as an adjunct to language courses. Further information on this program is available in Louis F. Helbig's informative article "The Concept of a German Studies Program" in Teaching Postwar Germany in America (Bloomington, Indiana, Institute of German Studies, 1972, pp. 1-11), and from the Institute, which will provide sample syllabi on request. The instructor attempting to develop culture courses for the first time can greatly benefit from such concerted efforts.

At the University of Wisconsin-Green Bay, culture is incorporated into the curriculum in yet another way. It is taught as part of a required four year sequence of courses called "Liberal Education Seminars,"[6] which introduce the student at the freshman level to the interdisciplinary structure of the university and two of its central concerns: environmental problems are studied with respect to other cultures and cross-cultural comparisons are made. An integration of knowledge and experiences is attempted in the senior year. The three course(nine semester credits) intermediate sequence treats "environmental problems" rather broadly. Environment is defined not only in physical, but also in aesthetic and social terms.

For example, I am currently designing a course dealing with the phenomenon of cultural contact in the context of the German/American experience. In the first part of the fall semester, students will be introduced to cultural contact through social science and literary readings and receive a general introduction to German culture. Then they will be divided into two groups: those who will spend the January Interim in Germany studying the interaction of German and American culture there and those who will study the same "problem" in Wisconsin. During the latter part of the fall semester, those who are to remain will examine the history of German immigration, the status of the German language in America, and the acculturation and socialization of German immigrants, while those students who are to go abroad will study postwar German culture and receive an introduction to the specific culture of

the area to which they will travel. Both groups will prepare papers to be presented to the entire class. In January, the students remaining in the U.S. will spend a week at the University in preparation for specific off-campus projects and will then travel to Milwaukee where they will conduct their research of German-American cultural contact in the area of the arts, education, publications and institutions such as Milwaukee's Turnerverein, German factories and eating establishments, and they will also study the role of immigrants. Upon return, they will describe this research with a special emphasis on cultural comparison in the form of papers to be presented to the entire group in the spring semester. The group traveling to Europe will study the role American culture plays in German culture in diverse areas such as American popular music, gadgets, advertising, life styles, and the role of the American tourist, soldier, student, etc. The European group will also describe its observations in written form and present them at the beginning of the spring semester. The latter will begin with a review of the postwar era in light of the newly acquired impressions and proceed in reverse chronological order covering periods of greatest contact between the two cultures from the present to 1776 and the role of the Hessians in the Revolutionary War. The presentations of the groups which stayed in Wisconsin during January will be incorporated into the course wherever they are most appropriate. Besides covering the periods of greatest cultural contact, the course will look at the images each culture has of the other, examine stereotypes and values and proceed further with cultural comparison.

Being a university-wide requirement, the Liberal Education Seminars are taught in English, although experience has shown that German language students will be attracted to the section dealing with German culture. There are plans for French and Spanish sections in the required sequence as well, including a sequence on French-Canada in the near future. Being taught in English, such courses can reach a broad spectrum of students and can serve as a valuable introduction to language study. They can also serve to attract students to the study of the language. The experience of going abroad without knowledge of the language spoken there, generally produces the determination to study that language and repeat the visit. (Language teachers, of course, do not approve of conducting programs abroad without language training and Green Bay is no exception. At the present time we are in the process of establishing a minimal language requirement for the overseas programs in countries where a foreign language is spoken). Although introducing students to language study through culture courses is very important, the main thrust of the Green Bay program remains the analysis of another culture for its own sake. Using a thematic approach toward cultural studies, such courses paint a more realistic picture of life within a given culture. The thematic approach also makes these courses more manageable for the instructor without substantial background in history, philosophy, political science and all the other disciplines culture courses draw on. The students, too, are likely, to feel a sense of accomplishment at having explored one aspect of the culture in depth. Although the cultural setting can of course never be perfectly

duplicated in the classroom, thematic culture courses which provide opportunities for off-campus experiences and cultural comparisons give students a better view of some of the elements which make up the true cultural setting of a particular language.

NOTES

[1] William Morris, Editor, The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co, 1970).

[2] For example: Betsy Meade and Genelle Morain, "The Culture Cluster," Foreign Language Annals, 6, No. 3, (1973), 331-338.

[3] Robert J. Elkings, Theodore B. Kalivoda, Genelle Morain, "Teaching Culture Through the Audio-Motor Unit," Foreign Language Annals, 6, No. 1 (1972), 61-67.

[4] Nelson Brooks, "A Guest Editorial: Culture --A New Frontier," Foreign Language Annals, 5, No. 1, (1971), 54-61.

[5] Volkmar Sander, "German Culture: A Course Outline," Die Unterrichtspraxis, 6, No. 2 (1974), 123.

[6] An earlier description of the Liberal Education Seminars can be found in "Cross-Cultural Education and Motivational Aspects of Foreign Language Study," Foreign Language Annals, 6, No. 4 (1973), 465-468.

THE ENVIRONMENTAL APPROACH TO LANGUAGE LEARNING, PART II

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Language Learning Through Involvement

I. A good environment for language learning can be created by involving students in projects that require team efforts in organization and performance and the memorization of lines. When students learn to "work" with a foreign language in a creative, positive sense, the language comes alive for them. They see images when hearing foreign words or expressions, the words make sense and symbols evolve. This involvement with the language can take many forms, from poetry recitals to filming dialogues. In all of these, students learn lines and see their efforts immediately applied. They learn about technical aspects of stage performance or filming and publicity. While working together to stage a production, they become better acquainted with each other, an atmosphere of companionship and community spirit develops, and interpersonal relationships are improved. Students are no longer numbers, but become individuals for the instructor and for each other. What is learned in this way is retained better because it has been made more meaningful. Students often remember a memorized role for years. Above all, real communication takes place when students perform before an audience.

II. Projects to Create Involvement

A. Puppet Theater Show
B. Radio-Play Workshop
C. Video Tapes or Film Making as teaching aids in Lab or Classroom
D. Oral Interpretation of Poetry (class project or presentation)
E. Play Production

III. Methods to Create Involvement

A. Puppet Theater Show

An undertaking of this nature would be appropriate especially in the first or second year of foreign language study. Students will first select a text of their choice, perhaps one based on a tale by the Grimm Brothers, and proceed to write their own script. The vocabulary might still be restricted to a very basic but active form of communication. Repeated use of certain phrases during rehearsal, as well as in the script itself ("Dreimal must du raten...") could help the student overcome his basic shyness to speak in a foreign language, since it is the puppet who speaks. The instructor, who in this case would act as organizer, language coach and dialogue adviser, could insist that certain grammatical terms be included in the text ("Rotkäppchen geht in DEN Wald" - "Die Grossmuter wohnt IM Wald"), in order to make grammatical differences understandable through visual means. Rehearsals could be incorporated into the class period. Several sessions could

be used for puppet making and stage building, while the instructor gives a short introduction to the tradition of folklore and fairy tales in the form of a lecture. He might also want to point to the long tradition of the puppet theater to give some cultural and historical background. As a final project, the class might perform the puppet play either for other classes or for a Kindergarten school, or as a foreign language club activity.

B. Radio Play Workshop[1]

A workshop of this kind can take two forms:

(1) An addition to a second or third-year class in order to give added exposure to the spoken language, or

(2) A complete course at the second or third-year level

In the first instance, one would use a Hörspiel text as a supplementary reader. Since most of the radio plays depend on the creation of verbal images alone, texts are usually easier to understand than other forms of literary expression. The emphasis should be on reading aloud from the printed page with proper pronunciation and intonation and discussion of the apparent and personal meaning of the work. In these attempts at "dramatic text reading," one might or might not want to include theories of control of voice and body or the art of projecting ideas and emotions to an audience. It depends very much on the way these readings are to be presented to an audience. Your main concern may well be the improvement of pronunciation, enunciation and intonation. But the most important outcome should be that the literary work of art comes alive. In many classes I have been able to observe how the group reading turned the printed page into a living work, while performing the thoughts and feelings of the characters in the radio play verbally. Students were always surprised how interesting a work of literature could become when read aloud rather than scanned silently.

If a whole course is to be designed, the Hörspiel should be discussed as a literary art work with historical and cultural aspects. Here you might select several texts to point out differences in style and period and discuss several authors.[2] As a final class project, you might decide to give a "Reader's Theater Presentation" for an audience. A text which is not solely dependent on many sound effects and which has speaking parts of about equal length for all members of the class should be chosen. Again, you would encourage the students to read as lively and dramatically as possible, with or without gestures, insisting on proper pronunciation and intonation. In the public presentation, costumes, makeup and lights might be added, i.e., certain visual elements might aid in an understanding of the play for an audience which is for the most part non-native. This procedure will be further discussed under "Oral Interpretation."[3]

C. Videotapes or Film Making as Teaching Aids in Lab or Classroom[4]

Projects of this nature depend first of all on a certain budget, since film, tapes and equipment can be quite expensive. If there are

some funds available for an undertaking of this sort, the next step would be to have a trained crew for either studio or outdoor shooting sessions. As basic texts one can use dialogues in textbooks in order to:

(1) illustrate the assigned reading/learning material, and
(2) Add some cultural interest through "local" color, recreated in the studio.[5]

The decision of whether to shoot the film/tapes in black and white or color depends very much on the funds also, since color film/tape is more costly. A second consideration might be the problematic use of certain colors in front of the camera. Videotape is not as crucial as film in that regard. Certain colors look unnatural on tape and should be avoided. In our experience we have learned that complete cooperation with the technical crew is necessary, since working in front of several cameras requires different means of presentation than a reading or even a play would. It is therefore also important that all the lines be thoroughly learned -- re-takes are expensive and time consuming, although videotape can be erased.

Another point to be raised is the question of suitable characterization, since most textbook dialogues are written by educators who are for the most part concerned with questions of grammar and syntax, but not with the creation of characters who are in any sense believable. One might consider overemphasizing the "characters" and making "caricatures" out of them very much in the tradition of comic book creations. This is easier said than done, since very few students want to look "silly" and push their characters to these grotesque extremes.

The main benefits of such an undertaking are:

(1) First-year students are able to include visual elements in their lab periods which are directly related to the textbook in use.
(2) The actors in the dialogues might learn something about T.V. or film production and watching themselves in replays might decide to either continue or not to continue in language studies.

D. Oral Interpretation of Poetry[6]

Poetry can be adapted to classroom use in much the same way as the reading/reciting of radio plays. It could also be planned either as an in-class activity or a public presentation. The subject "poetry" can be considered in broad terms first with various examples of poems to illustrate how poetry works on a variety of levels and how the inner dynamics of spoken poetry communicate beyond the written word. The oral interpretation can be accompanied by constant interpretation de texte. A poem will be read entirely before returning to the reading of the individual stanzas for interpretation and discussion. One can here explain words that the students have not understood, interpret and discuss inner meanings, emotions, and ideas expressed by the poet. The next part of the course could be spent with students selecting their

own poems for interpretation and presentation in class, trying to explore the varied possibilities for expression that poetry affords the speaker. Recreating the sounds and emotions of a poem can be a very enjoyable learning experience, especially after the student has lost his inhibitions to recite poetry in front of others; in doing this he will have to share some of his inner self.

For the teacher, there is always the temptation to prefer the monologue lecture approach in an analytic interpretation of literature. But since the class has been basically designed as a group activity, he should try to achieve a balance between the "performing" and "lecturing" aspects.

If the class decides to share some of the newly won insights with others, an evening of poetry reading could be scheduled as a final project.[7] The teacher should then use the second part of the course as preparation for this event. If the class is enthusiastic about this project and, above all, shows enough talent and has lost its feelings of inadequacy, the project can move ahead.

There are several possibilities one might consider:

(1)A reading of a representative selection of poetry, i.e., well-known and well suited for a reading. The staging of the reading itself can be kept simple, with students dressed either formally or informally, sitting on stools or platforms of different heights.

(2) A reading of a certain genre of poetry, i.e., an "Evening of Ballads," "Poetry of Protest and Satire," "The Musicality of Language," etc.

(3) A reading selection of a certain author who expresses his thoughts in a variety of ways, from the socio/political to the lyrical, as in Brecht for instance. In our Brecht reading we decided to add some visual elements, trying not to interfere with the words themselves, but all in keeping with the Brechtian element of "alienation." The students were performing in an art studio, using platforms, stools and even a step ladder in front of a wall partially covered with newspaper. The costumes ranged from clown to prostitute to nun, and as makeup we used a simple black and white pattern. We also tried to build the program logically, that is, groups of earlier and later poems, related themes in a variety of short and longer poems, starting with Vom arme B.B. ("On Poor B.B.") and ending with An die Nachgeborenen ("To Posterity"). To attract a larger audience, we used the method of bilingual presentation, with different students reading the German and English versions, which led to interesting interpretations. Another helpful element was the use of one or more voices in certain poems.

E. Play Production[8]

Aside from substantial linguistic benefits and the development of a different approach to the learning of a foreign language, several non-academic reasons might justify the inclusion of a foreign language

dramatic production. This is perhaps the most time consuming, but also the most rewarding group experience a class might undertake.

Since the primary aim of any foreign language course is to teach language and not necessarily to give professional performances, it is always essential that suitable material be chosen. Some of the criteria in selecting a play are the following:

(1) The play should have literary value, yet be simple enough in language and action in order to be accessible to the participants as well as to an audience of mainly non-native speakers.

(2) The play should not exceed 1 1/2 - 2 hours.

(3) It should have roles of equal size and enough characters to accomodate all students involved.

(4) In casting, one would do well to consider the possibility of using the natural qualities a student might already bring to a role and not force him to play "against" his character, unless he is willing and able to experiment with a different characterization.

(5) Organization is crucial from the very beginning. Since students, as well as instructors, have other class and project commitments, a reasonable rehearsal schedule and assignment of other than acting duties should be established as early as possible. Depending on the intricacies of the play, one should allow six to eight weeks of rehearsals, meeting four or five times a week. This rehearsal period might be divided in the following way:

The first two weeks:

After selection of the play, the first meetings will consist of careful reading of the text for pronunciation, intonation and characterization. The play and its meaning should be discussed in relation to single roles as well to the play as a whole. During this time, a certain concept of presentation will crystallize; the question of which approach to use in creating the play on stage will have to be answered. It can be presented as an organic whole, in which all the parts fit, i.e., one might want to use a fairy tale approach to a play like "Leonce and Lena" or a more grotesque manner. Each session may be started with a few voice exercises in order to be able to project in a larger auditorium or theater.

Since one can schedule individual scenes for rehearsals at this time before approaching the whole play, individual coaching sessions with students -- especially as they relate to linguistic problems -- should also be considered here. If it is a departmental project, one of your colleagues might be glad to help you in that respect.

The other production aspects should be considered here. One or more persons should be assigned to publicity. Posters, letters, invitations, articles in local and student papers, preferably with some rehearsal photos, should be sent out. Other educational institutions should be contacted soon enough so that prospective classes attending the performance know the play beforehand. Since most American communities have

a certain number of native-born Europeans, one should be certain to establish communications there. We found very appreciative audiences from that segment of society and it may create good relations with the community.

Since most play productions involve a technical crew which is often recruited through the drama department, one should consider a "stage manager" who is familiar with German, who attends all rehearsals in order to relate light cues to the technicians, and who might also be in charge of hiring ushers, etc.

If your play uses many props, food, etc. (as for instance in Biedermann und die Brandstifter) one should also insist on having one or two prop persons on hand.

The building of scenery, making of costumes, and makeup can either be arranged through cooperation with the drama department or one can select members of the class to have these responsibilities.

The second two weeks:

This period is used to transform the printed word from the page onto the stage through blocking, that is, delineating the movements, gestures, entrances and exits, etc. If your rehearsals take place in the same environment at all times, you might consider floor markings with tape (for door and window space bordering certain areas) or chalk. It will make it much easier for students (and for the director) who at this time will have trouble enough starting to work without the book. Furniture, props and even certain costumes (like capes and long skirts to be used in the play) should be used in rehearsals as early as possible. All these things help to make the actor feel more secure in his environment and to lessen the confusion created by stage fright. If you should decide to play safe and use a prompter, you might invite him/her to as many rehearsals as possible in order to observe possible weak spots. It might be easy for a native speaker to improvise lost lines; it's harder for a student of a foreign language, but it is quite possible to stage a play with or without a prompter. At this point you might also introduce light physical exercises before each rehearsal. Like athletes, some actors are in need of warming up before using their body as a tool of expression on stage. It is much easier to control movements and feel in touch with oneself afterwards.

The final weeks:

This period should preferably be spent in the theater in which the performance is to take place. Furniture and props are to be used at all times and lines will have to be memorized completely by now. One should also insist that the whole cast be present and the play should be run through every time without interruption. The students should be allowed to explore their characters now, and if any problems arise or mistakes are being made, they should be corrected afterwards in a session based on "notes" by the director. There is nothing worse

than an egocentric director insisting on stopping the action while the students are trying to concentrate. One should also refrain from re-blocking scenes, unless it is really necessary. Towards the last week, a technical rehearsal should be scheduled. The set, costumes, and makeup will be under lights for the first time and necessary adjustments might have to be made. From now on the spirit of the play should take over. If at certain points students still mispronounce words, it's too late to worry about it. One should remember that not every member in the audience is a language instructor, and that an enthusiastic performance with a few mistakes is more enjoyable than a performance with a carefully pronounced text and no spirit and imagination. Ah, yes, and don't forget to rehearse curtain calls; people standing around at applause or tumbling over each other might eventually spoil an otherwise good performance. A cast party is a must and sometimes flowers for the leading ladies at curtain time will make this experience even more memorable for all involved.

To summarize the main benefits of these approaches to language teaching:

(1) Although acting experience is not required in any of these projects, and although they are mainly designed to encourage language skills, some of the literary, theatrical and even cultural aspects will be obvious to the students and make it more than a language course per se. For German majors, graduate students and future secondary language teachers, knowledge and experience of dramatic production may be an invaluable addition to their training. A skill in speaking a foreign language in front of a classroom or audience will eliminate many pressures, and last but not least, will provide the teacher with a valuable method to teach literature using an oral approach.

(2) By reading in a group, performing in a puppet show or acting in a play with the teacher and other students as guides, a student might lose his sense of insecurity of never really being sure that he has understood the material. The group reading approach also provides immediate feedback. The student can proceed with more self confidence because the activity includes every other member of the class; he is not being "singled out."

(3) In addition, public performances of any kind do not only serve the department and the university, but they may reach the high schools and ethnic community as well. In this respect, the theater could help high school teachers generate enthusiasm for foreign language study, especially when they become aware that they can be very creative in that direction.

(4) Finally, the group reading or play production approach is fun for both students and teachers. Despite the many extra hours of work, the rewards make it all worthwhile. There is no greater compliment to a teacher than students saying that they have been participating in an interesting learning experience and that they have been more than just a number in a classroom; they have learned and have made new friends -- and that's what it's all about, isn't it?

NOTES

[1] For further information on radio play workshops see:
- Gustave Bording Mathieu, "A Solution to Boredom with Literature: Oral Interpretation and Group Reading," Die Unterrichtspraxis, 8, No. 1 (1974), 25-28.

- Runhild E. Wessel, "Radio Play in German IV," Die Unterrichtspraxis, 6, No. 1 (1973), 21-24.

- Emma Lewis Thomas, "Das Märchen als Hörspiel: An Exercise in Conversation, Recitation and Writing," Die Unterrichtspraxis, 6, No. 1 (1973), 29-32.

[2] Further material can be found in:
- P. Frank, Das Hörspiel: Vergleichende Beschreibung und Analyse einer neuen Kunstform. (Frankfurt A. M., 1959).

- Heinz Schwitzke, Das Hörspiel, Geschichte und Dramaturgie, (Berlin: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1963).

[3] The author of this article has used three different methods as final projects:
(a) A public presentation without costumes and other visual stimuli in which the students were situated on stools of different heights.

(b) A public presentation in the manner of a "reader's theatre" production using theatrical elements as visual aids.

(c) A language lab project in which the radio plays were recorded for class use.

[4] For videotapes and film making see:
- Randall W. Listermann, "Film Production in Foreign Language Study," Die Unterrichtspraxis, 6, No. 1 (1973), 24-25.

- Rainulf A. Stelzmann, "German Sketches on Video Tape in the Language Lab," Die Unterrichtspraxis, 6, No. 1 (1973), 25-28

[5] An example are the German videotapes produced by Educational Communications of the University of Wisconsin-Green Bay.

[6] For oral interpretation, see Gustave Bording Mathieu, quoted above.

[7] Two valuable sources for the oral interpretation approach are:
- Lyle V. Mayer, Fundamentals of Voice and Diction, (Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. Brown Co. Publ.)

- Louise M. Scrivner, A Guide to Oral Interpretation (N.Y. : Odyssey Press)

[8] For play production see:
- Uwe K. Faulhaber, "Laboratory Theatre: An Addition to the Foreign Language Curriculum," Die Unterrichtspraxis, 6, No. 1 (1973), 87-96.

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SUMMARY OF THE PANEL DISCUSSION ON HIGH SCHOOL - UNIVERSITY RELATIONS

Chairperson: Pat Aders (Churchill Sec. School, Vancouver)
Panelists: Peggy Herbert (Boise State University)
Harold V. Livermore (Univ. of British Columbia)
Hector McKenzie (Prince of Wales Sec. School)
Isabel Sawyer (Simon Fraser University)

In opening remarks, Pat Aders pointed out that, as she saw them, the most important questions related to high school-university articulation have to do with the attitude of students toward academic work; the secondary schools' need to offer courses for everybody, not just the academically inclined; the problem of the universities having to deal with high school graduates with different levels of achievement; the differences in methodology at different post-secondary institutions, with related differences in emphasis; and the reduction in enrolments due to the elimination of language requirements at some institutions.

Isabel Sawyer, who for a number of years has been measuring the French language proficiency of incoming students at Simon Fraser University (SFU), explained that when SFU started, the approach used in teaching French was the so-called "Cornell method," but that over the years there have been some changes and that now the method is an audio-visual one; one thing that has remained constant, though, is the emphasis on the spoken language. The motivation of students is often idealistic, as a result of the special status of French in Canada; they may not necessarily have good languge aptitude.

Many of the students have, after studying French in the secondary schools, very little speaking ability. At SFU it has been found that one cannot assume that grade X means this, and grade XI that, or even that grade XII French has a specific proficiency level in relation to SFU courses. So placement tests are given, consisting of a listening comprehension measurement that has been found to relate fairly well with oral ability. The number of years of pre-university study of French is used as a complementary factor to the test scores.

Most of the students come from B.C. secondary schools. In answer to a questionnaire, only five --just five-- percent of the students replied that they had been trained primarily to speak French. Since 55 percent said they had been best trained in grammar, it is obvious that the grammar they learned was the grammar of written French, not of spoken French. A high percentage --70 percent-- stated they could not understand spoken French. Now, these figures are the opposite of what they should be.

This questionnaire was administered after one semester of spoken French at SFU. None of the students answered that they had received too much oral teaching in the schools, and none answered that there was too much oral work at SFU.

Finally, I. Sawyer expressed disappointment with the fact that the schools are allowing the students to develop very bad habits. An example is the matter of spelling pronunciations. After years of high school French, about fifteen percent of the students say [fɛm] for femme.... Another example is the tendency to translate everything.

Among I. Sawyer's recommendations for improving the stiuation were the following: school teachers should all become fluent in French; testing should emphasize language proficiency, not theoretical knowledge about the grammatical structure of the language; and, while methodological experimentation is going on, it should be controlled, and the best way of this would be through a Province-wide administration of standardized tests at the end of grades X and XII. The administration of standardized tests over a period of years would make it possible to say, regarding methods, "this procedure works," and "this does not," etc. Moreover, it would allow the teacher who works very hard and knows how to teach to say, "Here are my students, and this is how well they have done."

Hector McKenzie suggested that articulation should start even before high school, by establishing liaison between elementary and secondary language programs. Sometimes the differences in methdology between elementary and secondary schools create problems for the students.

A high school problem is that it is necessary to offer something, in the language courses, both to the academically-inclined students and to the non-academically-inclined students; the result sometimes is mediocrity. Another problem is the scholarship exams from the (B.C.) Department of Education ; the teacher who wants to emphasize communication in the language runs the risk of having his best students not do well in such exams, for the scholarship exams very often emphasize small points of grammar.

Harold V. Livermore pointed out that nowadays many students cannot write, lack good study habits, and have no definite goals. Although attempts are made at the Hispanic Studies Dept. at the University of British Columbia (UBC) to limit the number of graduate students to fit the job market, the number is larger than it should be. Part of the reason why there are not enough jobs for graduating students is that the junior colleges, for example, tend to hire less-qualified people from the community, apparently in order to make savings in salaries.

The first two years of Spanish at UBC are not enough for advanced work in Spanish at the upper level; by studying in a more intensive way during the first year, students can take a third-year language course during the second year. Students who come to UBC with some Spanish are placed in a more advanced first-year course or directly in a second-year course. This is the way placement is handled; however, ideally there should be national standards and national examinations which would determine with some precision the knowledge of languages on the part of high school graduates.

Peggy Herbert explained that at Boise State University (BSU) a placement test is given to all incoming students. This avoids the placement of a student in a course too advanced for his knowledge and, on the other hand, the situation, frustrating for the other students, of having in the same class some students who know much more than they do. Some do so poorly in the placement tests that it is evident that their language courses in high school were a waste of time.

A complication in placement is the larger number of Chicano students in Boise who can speak Spanish but can neither read it nor write it. The long-term nature of language study discourages some students, since the rewards are few and far between; the fact that there are twelve percent Spanish speakers in the Boise population does, however, offer some opportunities to practice the language. Students in the other languages are not so fortunate.

School advisors see a foreign language degree as having little marketability, and few of them therefore advise students to take foreign languages. In order to change the situation, BSU has started a public relations program; virtually all businessmen contacted via a questionnaire have replied that they consider foreign languages useful for their employees; the result was a brochure that was distributed in the high schools. Initiatives are also being taken to promote German and Russian for scientists. There are also language competitions for high school students. Plays are presented to high school assemblies. All of these things advertise foreign languages at BSU.

Workshops for high school language teachers are also offered, dealing with methodology, the language laboratory, etc. Language courses of limited scope are offered to those in the community who need a basic knowledge of a foreign language. Literature in translation courses have been very successful.

One of the biggest problems is that there is a two-year language requirement which is meaningless, for in two years students may learn a great deal or very little. A competency requirement rather than a time requirement would be far more realistic, for otherwise the requirement is fulfilled with minimum effort simply as a college requirement. A few graduate school departments have language requirements, but they vary considerably from adequate to less than minimal.

The qualifications of high school language teachers should be raised. In Idaho all it takes to teach a language is twenty credits. This is barely two years plus four credits.

Contacts between foreign language teachers at different levels should be more numerous, although much is being done to improve this, including visits, coffee klatches for teachers, and the lending of BSU language laboratory materials. It would be a good idea to create an alliance of all language teachers in the state; as it is, there is only one statewide meeting a year.

Pat Aders explained that about seven years ago there was a great effort in Vancouver to attract high school students to the study of Spanish; this effort, helped by a growing trend of interest in languages other than French, resulted in a considerable expansion of the Spanish language offerings in B.C. high schools. Unfortunately, some of the people teaching Spanish in the high schools are really French teachers with limited knowledge of Spanish, so limited in a few cases that they barely keep ahead of their students. Another problem is that students who did not do well in French or another language enroll in Spanish on the basis of the widespread rumor that "Spanish is easier". The varied language backgrounds of the students also make second language teaching in Vancouver high schools difficult.

There was then a discussion, in which some of the points raised were the following:

--Should grammar be taught as rules to be learned? The two opposite points of view expressed were that (1) yes, it should and that (2) grammar should not be taught as such but learned in a practical way as part of oral exercises.

--Should students be denied access to the written form of the language even though this causes memory problems? Perhaps the answer is to use the written language as a backup for spoken communication. Reading, however, is also a memory exercise in its own way.

--While the universities state that high school graduates are not competent in the second language, the exact nature of this competence has never been defined for the benefit of high school teachers; this lack of a definite statement from the universities is what forces the high school teachers to rely on the scholarship exams (in B.C.), however poor they may be. This kind of lack of communication is what keeps the language teaching profession working around in circles.

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WORKSHOP ON
PROMOTING POSITIVE COMMUNITY ATTITUDES TOWARD LANGUAGE STUDY

Co-Directors: David P. Benseler
Joseph Labat
Washington State University

(Editor's Note: From the various activities that took place in this workshop --two oral presentations, the distribution of a bibliography on the topic, and discussion-- we can only make available to our readers the talk by Joseph Labat and the bibliography. HH.)

I. Authenticity and Communication in Foreign Language Teaching

Joseph Labat
Washington State University

In this workshop, we are considering some possible means that we can use to promote language study. I would like to explore with you one of these means: the interrelationship, or communication, between the teacher and his students. Because of it, we cannot possibly separate foreign language study from any other field of the humanities, nor from the specific situation of teaching. I happen to believe that students do not resent language study for its inherent characteristics, but because they have been conditioned since a very early age to function as pop machines. I hasten to say that many teachers of humanities among us have fallen into that materialistic trap, at a time where we could, and should, be a united humanizing force to liberate man. I will speak, rather freely, of the psychosocial dilemma in which the teacher flounders; then I will criticize the traditional relationship between adults and the young; and, finally, I will discuss briefly a broad outline of a possible teacher-student relationship. As Alfred Sauvy puts it: "There is but one true liberation, it is the one which suppresses the thick partitions which separate people; there is only one bearable constraint, it is the one of light."[1]

The crisis in foreign language teaching is not isolated. It involves all teachers. It originates in our technocratic society, where even the mother tongue has become phonemes, where love has become orgasms, where art is mere frenetic pulsations, where human relationships are theaters of frantic puppets dancing to the frenzied rhythm of a synchronized orchestra without a director, with no correspondence to the real needs of men, their aspirations, their metaphysical disarray, their loneliness. One easily rejects the learning of a foreign language, because its importance cannot be measured statistically, because its product cannot be marketed on shelves. And we teachers of foreign languages struggle inspiredly and genuinely to find answers to economic and utilitarian suffocation, to invent more attractive formulas and publicity slogans, more succinct techniques, new methods and courses, to protect and sell our specialization. Yet we neglect to feed the subjective side of our teaching. I believe that all our efforts are praiseworthy; but, by doing only what we are doing we perfect the system of our motherly technological society, which says:

"Oh! You have some demands? How could it be? You surely have good reasons for them? We welcome your ideas! What are your objectives? We shall entrust them to a committee of responsible organizers and budget planners. Because there is good in your requests and your protests. You are neither our enemies nor a real danger. You have your reasons: we are here to understand them."

Soon enough our demands are welcomed, then implemented, finally changed to perfect the system by taking away from us, foreign-language teachers, what should be the immediate cause of our struggle, that is to say, not the survival of our profession, but the desperate needs of today's individuals for a humane education, for reassuming their freedom as human beings.

Therefore, I would like to suggest that we stop being followers, exotic professionals, docile servants of a technocratic system. We are here, before all else, to serve our fellow men. Our specialties are not grafted to the curriculum; we are primarily teachers, teachers of humanities. This being the case, our contributions and solutions must aim, on the one hand, at complementing education in general; and, on the other, not only at solving immediate and superficial problems but at delving into the depths of despair eating away at men's hearts. Thus, the necessity to relocate the teaching of foreign languages in their proper context, that of a didactical and dialectical pedagogy. It is therefore essential that my suggestions be considered in the reality of today, because it justifies them.

Many teachers continue to teach at a distance, that is, from the lofty heights of their lecterns; they continue to follow the scheme of a patriarchal society, where the father, the professor, the priest, and the president are the sole possessors of authority. These teachers thus maintain a vertical relationship with their students, acting as if the family were still a solid and immutable system ruled over by the father; acting as if the teacher, taking over this paternal authority, could lean, in the classroom, on this hierarchical and indubitable order; acting as if the priest could still appease the torments of a conscience by divine investiture. Is it not evident in our time that the image of God the Father has been replaced by the more fraternal, less authoritarian one, of Jesus, the Brother and the Man, as Paul-Henry Chombart de Lauwe puts it.[2]

Actually, for the last few decades we have been living in a horizontal system, where the only authority is in the non-existent hands of the technological organization.

This system has provided us with a statistical destiny; it has, in a manner of speaking, pulled us out of our metaphysical destiny, like a tropical plant that one makes grow in the artificial warmth of a Siberian apartment. Our new destiny is solely ruled by greed. This conflict between the profound needs of the human being and those imposed upon him provokes his self-withdrawal and subsequent dramatic necessity to justify himself, his existence, to discover his raison d'être. Similarly, we settle in our cozy homes when the weather outside is impossible.

Thus, what characterizes our epoch, and this for every age group, is the need for self-definition, not so much as a member of a family, a social class, a school, a race, a nation , a religion, or a corporation, but as a human individual entrenched within himself, searching for an interior order which is no longer guaranteed from the exterior by the institutions as in previous generations. For example, the technocractic society has taken man's need for affection and, by converting it to sexuality, has made of it a consumer product, as if this activity had no inner ties with the psychological being. The consciousness of one's being in a state of disarray starts around the age of seven: "I don't know what to do with myself!" is a common formula. This being, like everyone today, is afraid, lives in solitude, because the world which is offered to him does not answer his needs --needs of self-confidence, security, identity, loving bonds; that is to say, needs of human relationships, of communication. Thus, the way of tomorrow, while aware of the technical reality, bases its trancendence, its act on the individual himself, on the human being. "It is," as stated by Jacques Ellul, "a way of silence and perseverance, of rare and authentic personal relationships, a way of reason opposed to all of the rational and all of the irrational, a way of virtues to be reinvented."[3]

This responsibility is specifically ours, teachers of foreign languages, because beyond the tool of communication, which we teach, there is the mystery of the communication of beings, which we perceive subjectively. Through our own education, we have been sensitized to the human condition and we know how well a foreign language can be a tool of communication that can elevate man, can help him build happiness despite his fundamental loneliness, a happiness shared with others; that is to say, we know that speech is freedom.

We also know the insanity of making mastery of a job the only purpose of life. Because if the purpose of education is only to train people for a productive job, a useful place in society, we contribute to making this society a giant asylum inhabited by a multitude of desperate escapists. For the individual can become a human being only by getting to know his fellow man. And it is with this reinforced confidence in himself that he can equally relieve his fellow man of his metaphysical doubts. This interchange, this solidarity, this indelible tie with the other is a relationship and, in this civilization, it is established with communication, with language, with words, with meanings. Teaching languages to the young, while preparing them for a functional position in organized society, should also make them aware of their true dimension as conscious beings, responsible for themselves and for others, for their life and for life in general.

Consequently, at a practical level, it is desirable that the teacher of languages first come down from his pedestal of authority. True authority is not imposed by one's attitude, but by one's experience, by one's convictions, by one's authenticity of oneself. The youth of today knows well that power resides only in the technological system that manages both teachers and parents. Thus it is useless for either of them to hide behind a role of authority which has no meaning anymore. . . .

What today's youth hopes for, what a child expects from his father and a student from his teacher is not the assurance that the adult possesses authority but that he recognizes the young person as an individual, so that the latter can base his self-confidence on this recognition. From there the young person develops himself with and toward the adult. In other words, by guaranteeing him his own identity, the teacher gives the student the possibility to improve himself, to grow, to be a whole being, to share, to give.

This interpersonal communication between the teacher and his student is one of two human beings, brothers in their human condition, one possessing the experience and the other searching his way. I am therefore speaking of freedom. By freedom I do not mean anarchy, nor homogeneous egalitarianism, nor mechanically conceived superficial attitudes, nor permissiveness. Freedom is formed of constraints, of authenticity, of exigences, of rigor, of relative spontaneity, of truth, of respect for oneself and others, thus of responsibility.

In other words, our students need the teacher both as the giver of a tool of communication and as a human being, a person. If the teachers of languages choose to understand their students, to perceive them for the people they are, to become available not only for the conjugation of the verb to be but also for the dramatic and sincere meaning that this verb implies, that is to say, to know how to be, with oneself and with others, they would witness, I am sure, a growing number of students, of those who want to discover the true meaning of words and of consciousness, which is communication.

When I say that the teacher of languages must consider his students as individual persons, I am aware that it is a common thought, but I want to stress the difference between thinking an idea and living it. Many among us have discovered that teacher-student communication is not unilateral, that we have much to learn from youth, that this communication, in bypassing the generation gap, can help people assume their life, live a man's life, active, responsible and, especially, sane.

In conclusion, whether we teach a language, a culture, a civilization, or a literature, we must base our teaching on the individual, on the truth of the human condition, on the common denominator between the student, the teacher and the voices which we teach. To ignore this truth of life is only dilatory action, because before long this truth will come knocking at our doors. To open students' minds to truth and awareness is a sure way to help them become human beings, improve themselves, and improve their lives and the lives of those around them. In this perspective, foreign cultures become a mirror in which the individual sees himself more clearly, learning to know himself and his possibilities and responsibilities. This is possible only if the teacher is available and willing to help each one of his students to attain greater individual confidence, self-esteem, self-definition and identity and to develop a world of human relationships. It is, indeed, our duty as teachers of languages and humanities to help open that door, before it is too late.

NOTES

[1] Mythologie de notre temps (Paris: Payot, 1971), p. 235.

[2] "La Fin de la Famille," La Nef, 46/47 (1972), p. 42.

[3] De la Révolution aux révoltes (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1970), p. 377.

II. An Introductory Bibliography on the Promotion of Positive Community Attitudes Toward Language Study

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SUMMARY OF THE PRESENTATION
"ERIC: HOW CAN IT HELP ME?"

Peter A. Eddy, Associate Director, ERIC Clearinghouse on Languages and Linguistics, Center for Applied Linguistics.

With the aid of an audio-visual presentation and in response to questions from the audience, Mr. Eddy described the network of information services called ERIC, the Educational Resources Information Center.

Besides the Clearinghouse on Languages and Linguistics of which he is the Associate Director, there are 15 other Clearinghouses: Career Education; Counselling and Personnel Services; Urban Education; Early Childhood Education; Educational Management; Handicapped and Gifted Children; Higher Education; Information Resources; Junior Colleges; Reading and Communication Skills; Rural Education and Small Schools; Science, Mathematics and Environmental Education; Social Studies; Teacher Education and Tests and Measurements. Each Clearinghouse publishes literature reviews, papers on the state of the art and interpretive monographs and may be contacted directly about materials in their field.

The system is funded largely by the National Institute for Education and may be consulted for information free of charge. The only charges are for reprints or microfiches, or for having a topic researched by computer. During the three days of the conference Miss Barbara West, the representative of the Lockheed Corporation, which provides computer service to ERIC, fed members' enquiries into the computer free of charge and provided the required information almost instantaneously.

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Documents relating the area of interest of each Clearinghouse are supplied to it by the National Institute of Education, by professional organs, state and local agencies, by universities, publishers and individuals. Mr. Eddy pointed out that one of the reasons for his presence at PNCFL was to invite members to submit papers to ERIC for inclusion in their listings. These documents are reviewed for content and form and, if accepted, abstracted and indexed. They may then be consulted as microfiches at any library which carries the ERIC microfiches. They are also available, with the exception of journals, from the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS) either as microfiches (at 75 cents for 96 pages of print), as reproduced paper copies, or from the original publisher. Occasionally, though listed by ERIC, a document may be copyright by a publisher or a University, in which case the details of where it may be obtained are listed by ERIC.

The first step for the user in tracing material is to go to the Thesaurus of ERIC Descriptors to find the subject classifications,

descriptors, under which the material is filed. A monthly publication, Resources in Education (RIE) contains an abstract of each document in the ERIC system along with subject, author and institution indices to give ready access to the information. The third source of information is the Current Index to Journals in Education (CIJE), a monthly index of articles appearing in over 750 education and education-related journals. Lists of libraries in Canada and in the Western United States which carry not only these reference books but the ERIC microfiche collection were distributed to the audience. The cost to an institution for an annual subscription to RIE and CIJE is between $120 and $150; microfiche readers are available at these centres, free of charge, while an annual set of microfiches, consisting of about 1200 titles a month, costs $1200.

Further information about services provided by ERIC may be obtained from librarians, from any of the ERIC Clearinghouses, or from the Chief of ERIC, National Institute of Education, Washington, D.C. 20208.

Mr. Eddy left no doubt in the mind of his hearers that this superb system is an indispensable tool for anyone trying to sift through the overwhelming mass of new knowledge and information on education.

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PANEL DISCUSSION ON LANGUAGE TEACHING IN THE TWO-YEAR COLLEGE

Chairperson: Leonora Guinazzo, Portland Community College

Panelists: Dorothy Yada, Vancouver City College
Magdalena Ladd, Clackamas Community College

Mrs. Yada described a unique language course offered at Vancouver City College to students taking the two-year course in theatre arts. These students are planning to become professional actors, and, as part of their course requirements, are required to take a foreign language. They may follow a special four-hour a week course in French, German or Spanish for one semester. The course does not aim at giving full understanding of the language, but limits itself to teaching the student how to pronounce correctly and confidently in the foreign language, and also how to speak English with a foreign accent.

No grammar is taught, although there is some written work, mainly in phonetics, and some dictation work, especially in Spanish where orthography and sound have a fairly good match. The main teaching tool is the International Phonetic Alphabet, a knowledge of which will help the student to deal with most of the foreign expressions he will come across in his acting career. Students spend from 1 1/2 to 2 hours a week in the lab, doing repetition exercises, listening to songs, memorizing poems and dialogues. They study one full-length play, and several shorter ones. Testing is oral, except for phonetic transcription.

From the point of view of the teacher, the course requires a great deal of preparation to keep students interested, since there is no textbook. Students are not always regular in attendance as they have acting assignments and rehearsals, and their academic courses seem less important to them than their more directly career-oriented ones. There are also problems in time-tabling since the language program is not integrated with the theatre program. On the other hand this course is rewarding to teach, since it provides a different kind of challenge from the academic courses and since one can watch the students perform in the language they have been studying. Finally, of course, the course succeeds in providing more employment for language teachers.

Magdalena Ladd described a number of innovative programs in Clackamas Community College.

The first was a one-term interdisciplinary course taught in conjunction with Business Education, in which secretarial skills were taught in either Spanish or German. Students were required to have two years or more of the language chosen.

The aims of the course were to teach specialized vocabularies as well as cultural features of the language. Specifically, the subjects treated were the differences in the format of business letters,

shipping documentation, banking data, governmental rules and regulations and export-import documentation. Students were introduced to the metric system, to the geography of the language area, and to specialized dictionaries and other resource material for specific language problems. The course has now been recognized, with credits transferable to a four-year institution. To date the demand for the course has been modest but it will continue to be offered.

Two other interdisciplinary courses, only at the preliminary proposal state, were in the area of child development disabilities and the second, in Spanish, for law enforcement, nursing, and social service workers.

Another course which breaks traditional patterns is to be offered next spring. It will be a Contemporary Latin-American literature class offered to both Spanish-speaking and English-speaking students. The course will be taught in English, but assignments will be done in the native language of the student. The course will introduce English-speaking students to another culture and very possibly interest them in the study of Spanish.

Finally, all first-year language courses at Clackamas Community College have been opened to General Education students. These non-transfer students are graded on a Pass-Fail basis, rather than as transfer credit students; however, up to a certain point in the semester, the non-transfer student may change from the Pass-Fail option to the transfer grading system and obtain transfer credits for the course. This move has met with an excellent response, and has done something to eliminate the "academic" stigma attached to the language courses. The General Education student is encouraged to try learning a language and often finds it is something he can succeed in, and not just something for university students.

The general discussion which followed dealt with some of the difficulties of implementing a contractual system in a community college with a very transient population of students, and also with the problem of giving enough time to students fulfilling individual contracts.

Some suggestions on program enrichment were made, notably by the Chairperson, Leonora Guinazzo of Portland Community College, who described a successful innovation in their College's first year language program. A fifth hour of conversation was offered as a special study course. All grading pressure was taken off the students who were graded simply on the basis of their being present at the conversation hour. The students were divided into small groups of four or five led by native speakers; groups changed after 20 minutes. The content of the hour was controlled only by a list of suggested topics given to the group leaders. Other colleges reported using systems of tutors, including Highline College, where advanced students may opt either for credit or for pay in return for tutoring.

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"THE TEACHING OF SECOND LANGUAGE VOCABULARY" --A WORKSHOP

Director: Hector Hammerly
Simon Fraser University

Presentation

The workshop started with a presentation, a summary of which follows below.

I. The Need to Teach Vocabulary in Context

This refers to both the linguistic (structural) and situational (semantic) context provided, for example, by dialogues, narrations, and readings. One-to-one word lists, on the other hand, give neither context and tend to result in the concatenation of "equivalents" into sentences which make no sense either grammatically or semantically.

II. The Need for Vocabulary Selection

Since most languages have total vocabularies well into the hundreds of thousands of items, selection is essential. Selection ought to take into consideration at least two factors, namely word frequency and function. Word frequency lists can be quite useful, but it should be kept in mind that they should be based on the same type of language to be taught --if the emphasis on teaching is going to be on the spoken language, for example, a list based on the spoken language should be used.[1]

III. Active vs. Passive Vocabulary

In any language that one knows well, it is generally the case that the passive vocabulary (i.e., the words one can understand but not readily use oneself) is larger than the active vocabulary (words one can use unaided, in speaking or writing). Of course, usually active items are frequent and carry a heavy functional load.

If we divide second language acquisition into a beginning ("B"), an intermediate ("I"), and an advanced level ("A"), it would seem advisable to concentrate on active vocabulary goals during B, active plus some passive during I, and a greater percentage of passive vocabulary during A.

An important function of second language teaching is to convert passive into active vocabulary through practice which, for the sake of efficiency, should be mostly conversation practice rather than writing. Lack of practice results, naturally, in the opposite outcome --active vocabulary becomes passive, and passive vocabulary is forgotten. In closely related languages, of course, the learner starts with a large potential passive vocabulary composed of cognate words.

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IV. Meaning and Its Presentation

a) Denotations, Connotations, and Special Uses of a Word

1) Denotations are the basic, central meanings of words and should be presented first. For example, the denotation or basic meaning of the word milk is "a liquid produced by mammals to feed their young; some animal milk (usually cow's or goat's) is used for human consumption." The denotation of milk is identical with that of leche, lait, milch, etc.; that is, denotations are very often the same across languages. From this it follows that there is nothing wrong in using native language ("NL") equivalents --in context-- to convey the denotations of second language ("SL") words, although at times it may be necessary to stipulate contextual restrictions.

2) Connotations are notions related to a word by custom or experience. Connotations can be cultural or personal. Leaving aside personal connotations, about which very little can be done in a language program, an observation that seems valid is that cultural connotations are seldom the same across languages. Taking the example of milk (in almost all of North America) and leche (in most of Latin America and Spain),[2] the following are some of the differences in cultural connotations: (1) milk is sold mostly in cartons or bottles, leche is often sold by having it served in open liter pitchers; (2) milk is pure, leche usually reaches the customer with considerable water added ("bautizada"); (3) milk is clean, untouched by human hands, but leche is extracted by hand in rather unclean places; (4) people drink milk several times a day, while leche is drunk only for breakfast and occasionally for snacks; (5) people usually drink milk alone, but leche is normally mixed half-and-half with coffee; and (6) just about everybody drinks milk, while it is mostly children who drink leche and some adult men would rather never be seen doing it.

It would seem best to present such cultural connotations gradually, after having first taught the denotation of the word. The cultural connotations can be presented by means of notes, explanations, visual aids, etc.

3) Special uses of a word include its appearance in set phrases such as idioms. An example with milk would be the milk of human kindness; examples with leche are hermano de leche ("foster brother") and un tipo de mala leche ("an ill-meaning fellow"). Idioms are usually quite different across languages, although generally there is some way of expressing the same or a very similar idea in the NL; for most idioms, an explanation will be found to be necessary if one wishes to put the meaning across clearly to the learners.

4) From the above discussion it follows that the best order of presentation of denotations, connotations, and special uses of words is precisely that -first the denotations or basic meanings, then the cultural connotations, and finally the special uses of the words in set phrases such as idioms.

b) The Use of Visual Aids to Convey Meaning for the First Time

As valuable as visual aids are as mnemonic devices, as conversation stimuli, as vehicles to convey cultural information, and as a motivating factor, they are not advisable as a way to convey meaning for the first time, for the following reasons:

1) They are unnecessary to convey the denotation of most words, for as we have seen, with few exceptions denotations are the same across languages.

2) They can easily be misinterpreted or interpreted in several ways, even when they depict concrete objects and relationships. This was evident in two recent experiments.[3]

3) Despite claims to the contrary, visual aids do not stop students from thinking, usually right away, in the NL. This was also evident in the first of the two experiments just mentioned.

4) Visual aids can be quite frustrating for the students who, if they do not grasp the correct meaning from the picture(s), are forced to spend much time in meaningless repetition and get the meaning, not always accurately, from classmates, after class.

On the other hand, after a denotation has been learned --by means, for example, of sentence equivalents--, visual aids can be quite useful in conveying some of the cultural connotations and giving practice in sentence and vocabulary recall.

c) Teaching Cognates and False Cognates

1) Cognates, if introduced en masse too early, tend to produce two negative results: (1) they are pronounced incorrectly, thus contributing to difficulties in pronunciation , and (2) they lead to the false assumption that there is general vocabulary similarity between the two languages, with the result that the learner engages in false cognatization. At the same time, morphemic correspondences in the SL and NL that do occur in cognates, such as -tion in English and -ción in Spanish, should be taught and practiced with the words to which they apply.

2) False cognates, which are claimed by some to cause great difficulty, seem to be easy to learn when they are first taught in a restrictive environment that excludes misinterpretations. Thus, Spanish lectura ("reading," not "lecture") should be learned in a sentence like Me gusta la lectura; por eso leo mucho ("I like reading; that's why I read a lot"). To give an example for French as a SL, librairie ("bookstore," not "library") could be first introduced and thoroughly learned in a sentence like J'ai acheté deux livres à la librairie ("I bought two books at the bookstore"). In the case of false cognates, visual aids or realia can help to establish the necessary environmental restrictions.

d) Teaching Related Vocabulary Together

If closely related vocabulary items are taught together, the recall of each would be facilitated by the principles of contiguity and association. However, it has been a frequent practice to teach together certain lexical items which are not closely related in the act of linguistic communication. An example of this is the teaching together of the parts of the head, such as eyes, nose, mouth, etc.[4] The word eyes is much more frequently used in connection with words like read, see, etc. than with words like nose, mouth, etc.; similarly, the word mouth is much more closely related in linguistic communication to words like speak, eat, drink, and so forth than to names of other parts of the face or head. Too, the physical relationship between parts of the face or parts of the body may be interesting to a doctor or nurse, and one cannot help but suspect that to the majority of SL learners such an approach would make the learning task dull and the vocabulary involved hard to learn and hard to remember in linguistic context.

V. Rate of New Vocabulary Presentation

Experiments by Michael West during the early part of this century led him to the conclusion that in the case of unrelated languages (like Hindi and English) a ratio of 1:30 --one new word for every thirty known words-- was about ideal for extensive reading. ("Extensive reading" may be defined as the reading of rather long graded texts that are read only once or twice.) If the languages are related, and if cognates are counted as new words, then the ratio of new to known words may be as high as 1:15 or 1:10 without resulting in the frustration of constant interruptions for dictionary use and losing track of the ideas.[5]

In the case of short texts for intensive study (to be read many times to the point of near-memorization), the ratio can be as high as 1:3 provided that sentence equivalents are made readily available to the learner. This would be the case with short narrations, dialogues, and other such materials intended for thorough learning and active use.

VI. Vocabulary Expansion Exercises

While most vocabulary in a language program can be learned by means of the dialogues, narrations, etc. in the regular teaching materials, some materials have a vocabulary that is too restricted, especially at the beginning level, to allow even limited conversation in class. In such cases, the teacher may wish to supplement the students' vocabulary. A quick, efficient way of doing this is through vocabulary expansion exercises.

These exercises may be bilingual or monolingual, with the latter having a number of sub-types; but they all have in common the following three phases: (1) presentation of each sentence, in which each sentence is repeated several times with knowledge of its meaning, (2) practice with the new lexical item(s) in each sentence by means of questions and

answers, comments, etc., and (3) testing, after a number of sentences --about five or six-- have been presented and practiced, in order to determine if the new vocabulary items have in fact been learned. Of course, after this is done with one or several sets of sentences, the new lexical items will become part of the active vocabulary of the students only if they are reintroduced in conversation with a certain frequency.

a) Bilingual Vocabulary Expansion Exercises

A sentence is given for repetition in the SL and then the teacher gives the NL equivalent. The same is done with other sentences containing related vocabulary. The grammatical structure of the SL sentence is kept constant.

Example (for English speakers learning French):

1. J'aime les frités.	.1. I like French fries.
2. J'aime la laitue.	.2. I like lettuce.
3. J'aime les haricots.	.3. I like green beans.
4. J'aime les champignons	.4. I like mushrooms.
etc.	etc.

In the testing phase the order is reversed, with the teacher giving a series of simple NL sentences and the students providing the SL equivalents.

b) Monolingual Vocabulary Expansion Exercices

These take advantage of the various relationships between words, such as the relationship between synonyms, antonyms, etc.[6] The easiest sub-types to write are those using synonyms, antonyms, and approximate definitions or completions. As in the case of the bilingual exercises, everything in the SL sentence but the new lexical item should be known to the students.

1) Synonym Exercises

Example (for English as a SL):

1. Another way of saying "fat" is obese.
2. Another way of saying "small" is little.
3. Another way of saying "fast" is quick.

etc.

Of course, it may be necessary, in the course of the practice phase, to make clear the extent and limitations of the synonym.

The testing phase, in synonym exercises as well as in the other sub-types of monolingual vocabulary expansion exercises, consists of asking the students to complete SL sentences by using the appropriate new items.

2) Antonym Exercises

Example (for English as a SL):

1. The opposite of "sweet" is bitter.
   or
   Sugar is sweet, but coffee is bitter.
2. The opposite of "heavy set" is slender.
   or
   Jackie Gleason is heavy set, but Cher is slender.

etc.

3) "Definition" or Completion Exercises

Example (for English as a SL):

1. The soft, white thing that falls from the sky in winter is snow.
2. The part of the head with which we think is the brain.
3. A heavy storm with strong winds starting in the Caribbean is called a hurricane.

etc.

Another use for these various types of vocabulary exercises is to prepare the students for the listening to or reading of a narration; this would be especially the case when the teacher feels that some of the vocabulary in the narration should be active rather than passive.

Discussion

About twenty minutes of discussion followed the presentation above. Although no exact record of the discussion was kept, some of the points that were brought up are listed below, some with post-Conference comments:

--What vocabulary size would be a reasonable aim at the various levels?

It seems that approximately 500 words per semester at the beginning level, 750 at the intermediate level, and 1,000 at the advanced level would be a reasonable aim in college; this would give a total of about 4,500 (active and passive) lexical items in six semesters. In the secondary schools about twenty percent less than that would probably be a reasonable aim for six years of language study.

--How often should vocabulary items recur in order to be retained?

Lado has tentatively proposed a formula whereby each new item would recur in time on the basis of the square or third power.[7] Thus, X would recur 2, 4, 8, 16, etc. or 3, 9, 27, etc. hours of instruction after

it is first introduced. As far as I know, this tentative formula for SL learning has not been tested experimentally.

--Isn't the use of the native language bad in SL teaching?

Since it has been shown experimentally that SL beginners think in the NL anyway, it would be better to make sure that the equivalences they make are correct, and this can only be accomplished efficiently by giving sentence equivalences overtly rather than relying on probably incorrect covert equivalences. Too, making careful use of what the student already knows (the NL) speeds up considerably the task of learning a SL; monolingual methods - the natural method, the direct method, the audiovisual method are characteristically very slow (and therefore inefficient in their use of the limited class time available for SL instruction).

The whole question of the use of the NL in SL teaching is beyond the scope of this workshop; however, a principle for the use of the NL that can be said to be a reasonable compromise between the two extremes of traditionalism (with its very excessive use of translation) and strict monolingualism is the following: "Use the NL as little as possible but as much as necessary for efficient learning." Of course, this principle requires considerable definition, expansion and specification in order to become clear.[8]

Strict monolingualism should be recognized for what it is --an extreme reaction of the late nineteenth century which became officially adopted by the governments of France and Germany, which has since then been dogmatically advocated by virtually all French and most German SL specialists, and which has since then been "justified" by the same Frenchmen, Germans, and a few other European SL specialists on the basis of very shaky psychological and even neurophysiological grounds.

Dogmatism in SL teaching is totally foreign to the democratic spirit of education in most of North America. Fortunately, some voices are being raised against it even in Europe. A recent book, for example, traces the history and shows the fundamental weaknesses of dogmatic monolingualism (at this time, however, it is only available in German).[9] Unfortunately, it seems that not only in Europe but also in North America most SL teachers are far more ready to accept dogmatic guidance than to elaborate for themselves a healthy eclecticism based on careful reasoning and experimentation.

NOTES

[1] Good examples of such lists are those of "Le Francais fondamental" by G. Gougenheim et al. (Paris, 1956 on).

[2] This example is taken from a lecture given by Robert Lado some years ago.

[3] (a) Hammerly, Hector, "Primary and Secondary Associations with Visual Aids as Semantic Conveyors" in International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching, Vol. XII, No. 2 (1974), pp. 119-125; (b) manuscript by the author on an experiment in filmstrip interpretation by SL teachers.

[4] Something suggested by many authors; for an example see Lado, Robert, Language Teaching --A Scientific Approach (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), pp. 123-24.

[5] It should be noted that density can be as high as 1:15 (and probably slightly higher) without affecting vocabulary learning, frustration, etc. Of relevance here is an experiment with German in which density was varied from 1:100 to 1:15 --see Holley, Freda M., "A Study of Vocabulary Learning in Context: The Effect of New-Word Density in German Reading Materials" in Foreign Language Annals, Vol. 6 (1973), pp. 339-47. The much higher densities that some readers have, however, seem to have marked negative effects.

[6] For a thorough list of types of word relationships, see Scherer, G.A.C. and M. Wertheimer, A Psycholinguistic Experiment in Foreign Language Teaching (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), pp. 100-101.

[7] Language Teaching, p. 45.

[8] A chapter of the author's forthcoming book Second Language Teaching --An Introduction is entitled "Uses and Misuses of the Native Language" and develops this topic in some detail.

[9] Butzkamm, Wolfgang, Aufgeklärte Einsprachigkeit --Zur Entdogmatisierung der Methode im Fremdsprachenunterricht (Heidelberg: Quelle und Meyer, 1973).

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SUMMARY OF "INDIVIDUALIZATION: WHAT? WHEN? HOW?" --A WORKSHOP

Director: O.W. Rolfe
University of Montana

(The workshop consisted of an informal presentation and a question- and -answer period.)

Presentation

Individualized instruction is neither a method nor a panacea in second language teaching; although certain aspects of individualized instruction are useful to most teachers, not all teachers can benefit from formal individualization.

Individualization in second language teaching has been defined many times for a number of years. (As to the process itself, it seems to me that in recent months the information being published is rather redundant, with very little being new.) To give an informal definition, I would say that individualization of foreign language instruction is any kind of device that would allow the focusing on any one student's needs with respect to (1) time or speed, (2) materials or content, (3) approach or method and (4) goals or objectives.

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Is it worth the effort? How much effort does it require? Students are not necessarily more involved in individualized instruction, as they may or may not be involved in the traditional classroom, neither are discipline problems necessarily reduced, for in an individualized program some students may spend a great part of their time doing nothing. An increase in oral proficiency can be obtained by a variety of techniques, including techniques in the traditional classroom. It seems that individualized instruction does improve personal and classroom relationships, as there is more opportunity for individual and small-group communication. Individualization also seems to provide better for the needs of individual learners.

Among the specific benefits one can observe in individualized instruction are the following: active rather than passive student participation, with more students involved more of the time than in the traditional classroom; students know very clearly what they are supposed to do in order to achieve the learning goals, and they tend to develop a sense of responsibility toward their learning tasks; and the offering of a variety in content creates more satisfaction among the learners (students get tired of going through chapter after chapter of the same thing in the traditional classroom, regardless of the teacher and the method).

I recently read a quotation from the Vancouver Sun from Professor St. Jacques of U.B.C. regarding the learning of French in which he stated that no matter how many courses in French a person took, he would not remember it if he did not use it. This aspect of second language learning, or rather second language un-learning bothers many of us. But one of the advantages of individualized instruction is that it allows us to teach students how to learn, to teach them about language in addition to teaching them a language (and perhaps to enable them to maintain on their own their proficiency in the language they have studied).

If we take second language teaching in its wider perspective, that is, if we make our students aware of the fascinating and complex process of language acquisition --both of the native language and of a second language-- we would perhaps be more likely to attract their continuing interest. We should be honest with our students, and let them know that learning a second language is a hard and time-consuming undertaking. Individualized instruction allows us to tell our students what language behavior is like and what its acquisition consists of, and then teach them how to teach themselves. And this is as it should be, for the student is going to spend much more time on his own than with the teacher.

If the students are aware of how to learn, they will be less disappointed and concerned when they forget certain items, for they will know how to relearn them fairly quickly on their own. What I am suggesting is that we teach them something that will last when, for example, irregular verbs are gone --the knowledge of how to learn languages.

Another aspect that should be developed in the students is their ability to correct their own errors. In individualized instruction there isn't the emphasis on the avoidance of errors that there was under some older Skinnerian models. In a third-year individualized French phonetics class I have, for example, I don't want any students leaving that class until each can tell me what his errors are. I do not expect perfect pronunciation from my students --I don't think I have it myself--, but their being able to self-diagnose errors is essential if they are going to be able to improve, since they will work mostly by themselves.

Question-and-Answer Period

The following points among others, were made during the question-and-answer period:

--Individualized instruction can be applied at any level of language acquisition.

--An approach that is successful at the beginning level is to start by pointing out the basic differences between the native and the second language and then developing in the students the ability to observe and correct errors in terms of their causes.

--The individualized classroom should be planned not only with the students' but also with the teacher's personality in mind; some teachers do not feel comfortable at all unless there is a fair degree of control in the classroom.

--In terms of materials, one usually starts by developing learning packets for a particular text, then packets for several texts, and then developing or acquiring packets on a variety of topics of interest: customs, current events, even pollution.

--Individualized instruction does not mean that the students will always do only what they like. One may want to expose all students to French poetry, for example, considering that it may be their only opportunity for such exposure.

--A good source of information on individualized instruction is the ERIC system.

--A good guide for the preparation of individualized materials is R. Gougher's Individualizing Basic French Texts (there is another volume for Spanish texts). Also good are the recent books by David Wolfe and Renée Disick. Individualizing Foreign Language Learning: An Organic Process, by Gerald Logan, is quite good too.

--In order to develop the students' ability to correct their own pronunciation errors, a technique that works well is the following: in a group, (1) a student reads a text aloud, (2) the same student gets a chance to correct the errors he made, and (3) other students can correct errors he made and failed to point out. In this way, self-critical listening ability is a rapid result. Teacher correction does not seem to have the same effect.

--Care should be taken that the testing aspect of an individualized program does not snowball to the point that it requires so much staff time that several teaching assistants are required just for that. The solution is to let the students correct most tests themselves.

--Packets should not be so formidable in size that they discourage the students.

--Students, at least at the beginning level, do not want to be turned loose so that everyone will do his own thing. It is important not only to have individual work but also group work and class esprit de corps. For some activities, it is best to meet students as a class, even if the program is highly individualized.

--It is desirable to set a minimal pace, which can be, for example, half the standard pace. Otherwise there may be students who won't do anything in a given school term. Students who get through only half of a term's work can be given an "Incomplete."

--To increase the amount of conversation in the second language, retired people from the community, if available, can be hired. In such a case there may be a generation gap. On the other hand, students in an individualized program seem to resent being directed in group activities by other students(such as majors) who are only one or two years older than themselves.

--It is good to give the students options when it comes to packets: (1) to take a main text packet, (2) to take an alternate packet, or even (3) to make their own packet. Of course in making their own packet they have to meet certain requirements, such as covering the same grammatical material, etc.

--The term "behavioral objectives" puts many people off because of its Skinnerian connotations, so perhaps a more neutral term like "learning objectives" would be better.

--One should not get bogged down giving tests, alternative tests, and more tests. It is necessary sometimes to move the students on by giving them a C. If one lets a slow student take a test over and over and over again, he will keep on doing a poor job because he knows he will always have another chance. So the number of chances to take a test should be limited, perhaps to two or at most three times.

--In a packet, the learning objectives are presented concisely, but the learning activities are presented in more detail. It is a good idea to provide a self-test after every objective.

--Many people in individualized instruction do not set a minimal speed. But it seems that when a student has fallen so far behind that he needs someone to work with him alone all the time, the whole system becomes very inefficient. It can be done, of course, if the facilities are adequate and if there are few limitations on the use of native speakers; but if there are serious limitations on staff time, it cannot be done.

--Without motivation a student will not learn, individualization or no individualization. One can try to motivate him and put pressure on him, but if it is a losing battle it is better to quit rather than to worry inordinately about such a student. One has to try to know the students well, though, for sometimes a "quitter" acts that way simply because he dislikes pressure- and he might thrive in a pressureless situation.

--It is a good idea to have an orientation at the beginning of the term where the general objectives for the whole term are given and where students are told that, if they follow the program conscientiously, they can be guaranteed the attainment of those objectives.

--The discrimination and production of certain pairs of sounds requires teaching before the students can be brought to the point where they are capable of self-correction.

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SUMMARY OF THE ROUNDTABLE ON CHINESE LANGUAGE TEACHING

T.W. Kim
Simon Fraser University

CHAIRMAN: John B. Wang, University of Montana
DISCUSSANTS: - Larry Foster, Western Washington State College
- John Howard-Gibbon, Vancouver City college
- T.W. Kim, Simon Fraser University
- Angela Palandri and Michael Fish, University of Oregon
- Jan W. Walls, University of British Columbia
- Ho-Chin Yang, Central Washington State College

The roundtable on Chinese language teaching focussed on the history and present status of Chinese programs at the institutions represented by the discussants. Problems facing each school with regard to the teaching of Chinese were discussed in order that the participants (and audience) might benefit from each other's experiences.

After brief remarks by the Chairman concerning the objectives and procedure of the discussion, each member presented the history and current status of Chinese programs at his or her institution. Individual reports varied in length and content, since some larger universities (British Columbia and Oregon) have well established Chinese programs both at the undergraduate and graduate levels while smaller schools have only recently initiated elementary and intermediate language courses, often combined with Chinese culture and art. Consequently reports by Professor Palandri of Oregon and Professor Walls of U.B.C. were much more detailed than those of the other representatives. The following is a summary of the presentations of the participants rather than an exact transcription of the informal discussion which lasted some two hours. I have attempted to incorporate in this summary the salient points that emerged from individual presentations.

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Types of students taking Chinese

(a) Students taking Chinese as an elective while majoring in unrelated subjects.

(b) Students majoring in East Asian (mainly Chinese and Japanese) studies. These students are specializing in East Asian history, philosophy, political science, and are required to take Chinese language courses.

(c) Students in Chinese language and literature.

Methodology

First-and second-year courses place emphasis on the acquisition of competence in basic spoken language. Lectures on grammar and drills in pronunciation are the dominant methodology at this level. The approach may be termed audio-lingual -- "teaching the language and not about the language." Teaching about the language properly belongs to linguistic courses. Advanced courses (e.g. third and fourth year) on the other hand

tend to emphasize reading competence, since the majority of the students taking Chinese are interested mainly in reading Chinese literature, classical and contemporary.

The need for advanced courses in Mandarin conversation was expressed by some participants.

At least one University (Montana) adopts a two-track approach to introductory Chinese language courses: a reading track and an active skill track, the latter emphasizing the spoken language. It was pointed out that the goals and background of individual students often determine which of the two tracks is chosen. Such a trend is not unknown in teaching other languages, e.g. the University of Michigan, where Spanish courses follow the two-track approach.

A suggestion was made for the teaching of Mandarin pronunciation to students who speak other Chinese dialects, e.g. Cantonese. It was recommended that these students read a Romanized transcription rather than Chinese characters in order to avoid the natural tendency to pronounce Chinese characters in their own dialect. The characters as well as the romanized form, i.e. Pinyin, should be presented to enable the students to pronounce the characters correctly.

The problem of teaching Chinese characters to students without previous background in reading and writing Chinese were raised. The acquisition of some 700 characters in the first year and 1500 in the second year was deemed adequate. Certain textbooks, such as Ji-chu Han-yu, make exclusive use of simplified characters, although not all traditional characters have been simplified. Consequently the question of which of the two forms, traditional or simplified, should be taught first was raised. Despite the fact tha excellent textbooks published in Peking and adopted by various universities use simplified characters, some felt that introducing traditional characters with their simplified forms is more effective.

Enrollment

First year courses, as expected, attract most students (ranging from 20 to 80). Attrition rate varied from school to school. One of the major problems is the small number of students who continue the study of Chinese. As in other foreign language courses, advanced classes in Chinese have a much reduced enrollment. It was noted that there is growing interest in, and demand for, courses in Chinese culture and art and literature in translation. In these programs, requiring no knowledge of Chinese, enrollment is generally high. Since these courses do not require the arduous task of learning the Chinese language, relatively large numbers of students enroll. It is hoped that these students' interest in Chinese culture will motivate them to study the spoken or written language.

Career opportunities

Apart from students intending to go on to graduate studies and research,

the main vocational aims are positions in government (foreign service, translation, immigration, customs, etc.), airlines, journalism and teaching. Essentially the two major professional opportunities are governmental service and teaching.

Linguistic training for teachers

A summary of a paper on the importance of linguistic training for prospective teachers of Chinese was given by T.W. Kim during this session. It is reproduced, at the suggestion of the Chairman, following this summary.

LINGUISTIC PREPARATION FOR TEACHERS OF CHINESE

T.W. Kim
Simon Fraser University

Despite some recent claims regarding the irrelevancy of linguistics to foreign language teaching, I still maintain that linguistics is relevant to language teaching . . . "even if it is not directly relevant," as Politzer (1972:4) points out. An adequate training and preparation in general and Chinese linguistics as well as applied linguistics is extremely desirable (if not mandatory) for prospective teachers of Chinese as a foreign language.

Over twenty years ago, Pulgram (1954) published a useful article on the desired preparation for language teaching. The statements in that articleand in his subsequent articles dealing with similar subjects are still valid today. I am indebted to Pulgram for many of the ideas put forth in this paper.

On the importance of linguistic training for teachers of foreign languages, Pulgram (1954:80) states that "the study of linguistics may, and in fact does, tell what should be taught, in what order of importance, what the measurable effect will be, and it may give clues as to the appropriate methods for achieving set goals of aural, oral, writing or reading proficiency. It teaches what is significant in language, what is superfluous, what is indispensable, and what are the expected difficulties in the learning process. It does so with the aid of an objective analysis of both the native and the foreign language and by comparing the two." Prospective teachers of foreign languages, therefore, should know the linguistic system of the students' native language as well as that of the target language, Chinese, in our case.

In another article on linguistics for language teachers, Pulgram (1958) suggested a respectable kind of program of courses for prospective teachers of French. But since it is easy to substitute corresponding courses in Chinese mutatis mutandis, I shall discuss briefly the ideal kind of program of courses, either at the undergraduate or graduate level, in general and Chinese linguistics, following in the main Pulgram's suggestions. The courses in general and applied linguistics are largely based on those at Simon Fraser University.

(1) General Linguistics

The primary aim of this course is to provide the student and prospective teacher with the principles and methods of descriptive and historical linguistics. The course will deal with some of the main topics of general linguistics: the main features of human language, the production of speech sounds, syntax and the study of sentence structure, linguistic change, standard languages and dialects, linguistic typology, the languages of the world, semantics, writing systems, etc. As Pulgram (1958:411) points out, "the students must get an idea of the enormous variety of linguistic structures, the vast number

and vastly differing means by which various speech communities say the same things . . . To learn to look at language, or anything else, in relation to the rest of like or cognate things, with some degree of objectivity and with freedom from culture-boundness, is in itself a wholesome experience."

(2) Phonetics and Phonology of Modern Chinese

The course provides the student with a knowledge of phonetics and phonology. The sounds of Mandarin Chinese, the standard national language, should be analyzed in their articulation, acoustic properties and linguistic function. Since the majority of students are native speakers of English, Chinese should be compared with English on all levels of analysis, so that the future teachers will know what types of difficulties in the perception and production of Chinese sounds the students will have. The usefulness of contrastive analysis is most evident in the domain of teaching pronunciation. (See Hammerly 1972 for a detailed discussion on this subject). Chinese being a tone language, that is, a language in which differences in tone result in differences in meaning--it is extremely important to analyze the linguistic function of the tones. If the native language of the students is not English, their language or dialect must be compared and contrasted with Mandarin Chinese phonetically and phonologically. In the particular case of students taking Chinese at Simon Fraser University, it has been found pedagogically effective to divide the classes into two groups: one for speakers of English and another for Chinese speakers of non-Mandarin dialects. It follows, therefore, that the prospective teacher of Chinese should be familiar with the phonetics and phonology of English, Mandarin, and a non-Mandarin dialect of Chinese, depending on the linguistic background of the students. (For a selective annotated bibliography of Chinese linguistics, see Kim and Wawrzyszko 1974. For a specialized bibliography of Chinese linguistics see Wang 1967).

(3) Grammar and Semantics of Modern Chinese

In this course the structural aspects of Modern Chinese are examined and carefully compared with those of English. Basic concepts of semantics should be studied and the relation between syntax and semantics should be explored in their universal and language-specific aspects. Comparison of the semantic structures of languages is much more difficult and complicated than that of the phonological systems. As is the case with phonology, however, a contrastive approach may be adopted so that the prospective teacher may be made aware of certain fundamental differences in the grammatical and semantic systems of Chinese and English.

(4) History and Dialectology of Chinese

This course introduces the student to the study of linguistic change and dialect variation. Chinese, like any other language, is in constant change, the change being reflected in dialects. What often appears to be an irregular form from the synchronic descriptive linguistics point of view is in fact a regular reflex of historical development. Thus the teacher should familiarize himself with the history of dialects of Chinese in order to be able to explain certain irregular forms. The course should place emphasis on a general outline of both the external and internal history as part of the cultural history of China.

(5) The Application of Linguistics to the Teaching of Chinese

As Pulgram (1958:414) points out, this course should be taken ideally at the end of the series of courses listed above. No one who cannot teach one or more courses described above, who is not a linguist by profession, should be allowed to teach the application of linguistics to language teaching, for it is the hardest and most demanding of them all. The course deals with linguistic theories and theories of language acquisition, psycholinguistic and neurophysiological aspects of second-language learning, contrastive analysis, the learning of second-language phonology, grammar and lexicon. (For detailed treatments of relevant topics, see Alatis 1968, Arcaini 1967, Bouton 1974, Diller 1971, DiPietro 1972, Wilkins 1972.)

I have not discussed methodology. But it should be clear that linguists should not prescribe any one method of teaching, for there is no such thing as a linguistic method. Any method should be judiciously employed and carefully evaluated, taking into account such important factors in the teaching-learning process as (1) the linguistic background of the student, (2) student linguistic aptitude, (3) student motivation, (4) the age of the student and (5) aims and goals.

A linguistically trained teacher should attempt to familiarize himself with recent developments and findings in the psychological theory of learning and the neurophysiology of speech and with any other related fields relevant to second language acquisition.

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SUMMARY OF THE PANEL DISCUSSION ON

MODERN LANGUAGE TEACHING METHODS AND TECHNIQUES

Chairperson: Ruth White (University of British Columbia)
Panelists: David P. Benseler (Washington State University)
Donald Fraser (North Vancouver School District)
Gareth Prytherch (E. Hamber Sec. School, Vancouver)

Each of the panelists took about fifteen minutes to describe the program in his school or district.

As Donald Fraser explained, the elementary school French program in North Vancouver started in October 1974 and includes ten pilot schools. The teachers were carefully selected from among many applicants. Classes are held for twenty minutes each day. The parents are kept informed through the year of what their children are learning and are capable of doing in French.

The plan was to expand the elementary program downwards through the grades, beginning with all grade VII students and by 1979 having French instruction in all schools from grade IV to VII; however, budget limitations will require a reduction from this original plan.

Several types of materials were examined for possible use, and a number were rejected because they were not well adapted for the age of seventh-graders, or placed too much emphasis on the cultures of France or Great Britain, or required small classes, or relied on much higher student motivation than could be expected. The final choice was Ici on parle français, written by Canadian authors and with considerable Canadian content.

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A sample lesson for Level I was discussed. Conversational exchanges start each lesson and introduce new grammatical structures; these are first presented by the teacher with the help of visual aids, then they are used for repetition by the students. This is followed by exercises which take mostly the form of questions and answers. Teaching is taught analytically according to a cognitive approach. The students seem to like very much the materials.

Gareth Prytherch described the grade VIII Spanish course at his school. It is an audio-visual course which starts with the identification of concrete objects and moves on gradually to more complex things, although with the latter there are problems of interpretation. The materials are called Español: A Descubrirlo, published by McGraw-Hill. Each lesson, in addition to oral material, has a reading section. Grammatical structures are practiced primarily by means of question and answer exercises. A demonstration of a lesson was made.

David P. Benseler reported that a little over five years ago his department was asked to design a special summer course in German for graduate students of science. Due to the success of the new course, the program was gradually expanded to include French for graduate students and eventually summer courses for undergraduate students in three languages. Since the courses are self-sustaining (no students, no course), a good deal of advertising is done.

The students spend eight hours a day, five days a week, for a period of eight weeks, in class. The students who join these courses do so on an entirely voluntary basis.

A direct method is used, with everything done in the foreign language. MLS standardized test results show that the program works: the scores of students in these courses compare favorably with those of other university students after two years of language study.

For undergraduate students, such intensive courses offer the opportunity of having, if they so wish, four years ahead of them to complete one or more majors after having completed the lower-level language requirements.

If a student misses a day of class it is like missing about two weeks in the regular program. One of the things that were done to discourage absences was to increase classroom comfort by using padded chairs, etc. Teaching is done by a team of instructors including a faculty member and several teaching assistants, and no one instructor is in a class for more than 50 minutes at a time. The idea is to eliminate not only physical discomfort but the possibility of any psychological discomfort as well.

Five different textbooks are used. Intensive instruction gives both the students and the teachers a sense of accomplishment, of seeing immediately the results of what has been done.

Since age is not restricted, a number of high school sophomores and juniors have taken these intensive courses; when they return to their schools, they are the best advertisement for the program. Teachers have enrolled in summer workshops and have also been a good advertising factor. Formal advertising starts in February or March. Enrollments have been increasing steadily.

A question and answer period followed the three presentations. Some of the matters discussed follow below:

--In the intensive, eight-hour-a-day program, about three hours a day were devoted to grammar instruction, at least 30 minutes to singing, at least an hour to reading, and there is about a half hour of conversation.

--Due to the proximity of Mexico and the fact that many students travel there, Latin American Spanish rather than Peninsular Spanish tends to be emphasized in western North America.

--Beginning students seem to have much more difficulty with the pronunciation of French than with the pronunciation of Spanish.

--Considerable success in French, without creating a handicap in English, has been attained by using French as the language of instruction beginning in kindergarten, with the percentage of instruction in English increasing until it is about fifty-fifty in grade III.

--The key to success in an intensive program is the staffing. It would take only one instructor without enthusiasm to ruin the program.

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LANGUE ET CULTURE: CLICHES ET RACISME EN FRANCE

Mustapha K. Bénouis
University of Hawaii

"Si les Français n'avaient point
de vertus, je n'en dirai rien;
s'ils n'avaient point de vices,
ils ne seraient pas des hommes."
(J.J.Rousseau, La Nouvelle Héloise,
II, lettre 19)

Le Petit Robert définit le cliché comme "une idée ou expression trop souvent utilisée" et lui donne pour synonymes: "banalité" et "lieu commun" (p.292). Charles Bally écrit: "Le français est une langue où il est extrêmement facile de parler et d'écrire en enfilant des clichés. [Le Français a] le goût des formules définitives, des maximes frappées comme des médailles."[1] Il écrit par ailleurs que "la plupart des clichés ont une origine incertaine, et ceux-là sont particulièrement du goût des sots et des pédants."[2] De là à conclure qu'en tout Français il y a un Bouvard ou un Pécuchet qui sommeille, il n'y a qu'un pas que je me refuse de franchir. Laissant les considérations esthétiques de côté, je préfère envisager le cliché au sens large du mot et du point de vue de la culture pour tenter de montrer que certains mécanismes intellectuels, comme celui du racisme, trouvent leur point de départ dans des formules définitives, et pas toujours bien frappées, du langage quotidien. Ce n'est qu'en cernant les racines linguistiques du mal qu'on pourrait entrevoir des moyens de l'exorciser.

Au niveau des rapports entre individus, les clichés servent de points de repère, de gestes verbaux du fait même de leur banalité. Comme les acronymes dans la terminologie de la technologie moderne, ils court-circuitent les longues explications. Quand on parle "de la pluie et du beau temps," c'est pour instinctivement "renifler" l'interlocuteur; le "tâter" ou délimiter son propre "territoire." A l'intérieur de groupes restreints (famille, tribu, club, minorité ethnique ou religieuse, etc.), le cliché peut, comme le "panache blanc d'Henri IV" ou le "in-joke" américain, servir de signe de ralliement ou de "badge" identificateur. On peut aussi montrer les dents, et mordre, avec des clichés. A l'ère de l'audio-visuel, des "T-shirts" et des campagnes électorales ou publicitaires scientifiquement orchestrées, on pourrait dire: "Dis-moi tes clichés, je te dirai qui tu es!"

Au niveau de la conscience ou de l'inconscient collectifs, l'originalité ou la "vérité" d'un cliché n'entre pas nécessairement en ligne de compte. C'est plutôt une question de diffusion explicite ou implicite. Le mimétisme aidant, le cliché se copie comme le tic. Par le biais de la paresse mentale, il s'insinue dans les structures du comportement verbal pour s'élever au niveau du mythe ou s'enfoncer dans le très-fond pathologique de complexe. Les clichés du racisme appartiennent à cette catégorie.

Fort de son histoire, du prestige et du rayonnement de son pays à l'étranger, le Français entretient--et ceci n'est pas typique du Français --une vision dualiste et chauvine du monde, perpétuée, malgré les aléas de la réalité, par un album poussiéreux de clichés mélioratifs à son égard et péjoratifs vis-à-vis des autres. Certaines de ces "représentations collectives (la France 'pays du bon goût', 'du bien-manger', 'du juste milieu') sont, selon Roland Barthes, des siècles en arrière mais tenues stagnantes dans l'erreur par le pouvoir, la grande presse et les valeurs d'ordre."[3] Beaucoup de ces "allusions figées dans le lexique" et de ces "allusions figées dans le message... (qui) font partie du patrimoine culturel d'une nation," [4] ont la vie dure dans le pays de l'orthodoxie linguistique que sanctionnent un Littré, un Robert et quarante Immortels. Il existe des ouvrages traitant de ces expressions idiomatiques, locutions et images de la conversation.[5] Tout le monde sait en France qu'on est "saoul comme un Polonais," qu'on peut "fumer en Suisse," que les étrangers "parlent français comme des Basques espagnols," que les Américains sont de "grands enfants," qu'il n'y a que les nègres pour "travailler dur" et que tout "casse-tête" est "chinois." Laissons ces idiotismes dont quelques-uns ont été décortiqués avec humour par Pierre Daninos, pour nous attarder sur ceux de l'homme de la rue qui, bien qu'il n'aime pas "faire comme tout le monde" se sert des clichés comme Monsieur Jourdain de sa prose: sans le savoir. Ces derniers, qu'ils soient issus de la presse à sensation, des illustrés, des films, de la chanson et maintenant de la publicité, sont révélateurs de l'attitude du Français vis-à-vis de l'immigrant.

On se souvient de l'afflux des Pieds-Noirs rentrant d'Algérie après l'indépendance de ce pays. Saturés de clichés politiques--ou slogans--forgés par les D.O.P. du Ve Bureau de l'Armée (Divisions Opérationnelles de l'Action Psychologique) dans le genre "De Dunkerque à Tamanrasset, un seul pays: la France!" ou " La Méditerranée traverse la France comme la Seine traverse Paris," ils croyaient rentrer chez eux. Mais le Français "bien de chez nous," à qui "on ne la fait pas," ne voulut rien comprendre à "l'Algérie française" ni à "la France algérienne"[6] de ceux qui avaient déjà été échaudés par le "Je vous ai compris" de De Gaulle. Il en fit les boucs émissaires de la politique coloniale française en Algérie et les accusa injustement d'avoir tous fait "suer le burnous." On les appela "rapatriés" mais on les traita d'étrangers. De "Français à part entière," ils devinrent, et sont encore, des "Français entièrement à part." [7] Et maint Pied-Noir de s'écrier: "Putain de pays!" et "Purée de nous autres!" Cliché en deçà de la Méditerranée, erreur au-delà.

Victimes eux aussi des clichés de la guerre d'Algérie et de la "France coquericante," 230.000 harkis connaissent, version arabe, le sort des Rapatriés. "Harkis ou pas, ce sont des bougnoules." On les met dans le même sac raciste où s'entassent pêle-mêle les déshérités de ce Monde joliment nommé Tiers, les "Portos" en rupture de salazarisme (à l'époque, bien sûr), et les "damnés de la Terre" du Sénégal aux Antilles. "Français sur papier timbré" ou pas, peu importe, puisqu'il suffit d'avoir le "teint foncé," le "nez busqué" et les "cheveux frisés ou crêpus." Et c'est ainsi

que les harkis et les FLN, frères ennemis d'hier, se retrouvent rejetés dans le même ghetto psychologique que la mentalité française construit pour ces métèques qui sont loin d'avoir le charme romantique de celui de Georges Moustaki.

Quand les Français évoquent leur part d'origines méditerranéennes, c'est pour parler du "charme latin" et de leur civilisation "gréco-romaine." Sans trop insister; ils risqueraient d'être confondus avec les "macaronis poltrons" ou ces Hildalgos fortement marqués par les Arabes. Tout le monde sait en France "qu'au-delà des Pyrénées commence l'Afrique," le continent des "cannibales," des sauvages pas toujours aussi souriants que celui du "petit déjeuner Banania" qui hantait le chantre de la négritude. Au contraire, ils insistent jusqu'à l'exagération sur leurs ascendances celtiques et nordiques. La chanson ("Auprès de ma blonde qu'il fait bon, fait bon....") comme les illustrés (voir le succès d'Astérix) en témoignent. La propagande nazie l'avait bien compris, qui avait mobilisé beaucoup de Français pour sa politique antisémite.

Le 25 avril 1972, douze "gardiens de la paix" du commissariat de Sceaux ont investi un foyer de travailleurs immigrés de Bagneux et emmené les occupants au commissariat de Montrouge pour un "contrôle d'identité." Après un "passage à tabac" en bonne et due forme, et avant d'être libérés, les victimes de cette ratonnade joliment intitulée "opération de police," se sont vu déclarer par les "forces de l'ordre": "La guerre d'Algérie n'est pas finie, qu'est-ce que vous foutez en France?"[8] Cette réflexion est révélatrice d'un certain état d'esprit qu'on pourrait faire remonter à la Deuxième Guerre Mondiale (car on traite encore les Français israélites de "sales juifs") et même jusqu'aux Croisades et à la bataille de Poitiers.

L'immigration en France n'est pas un phénomène récent. Les Polonais sont venus, surtout dans le nord et l'est de la France; on les a assimilés. Ils ont pu mesurer avec fierté le chemin parcouru quand, avant de se mettre "à la barre," le chef de l'état français (VGE pour le populo) prêta serment devant Gaston Palewski et nomma Michel Poniatowski au poste important de ministre d'Etat. Aux xénophobes endurcis, on rappelle que la Pologne a également donné à la France Chopin et Mme Curie. Les Italiens et les Espagnols ont suivi; on les a assimilés, surtout dans le Midi. On n'oserait donner des leçons de civilisation aux architectes de la Renaissance. Quant aux seconds, leurs "bonniches" ont porté l'art de la domesticité ménagère à Paris à un degré aussi élevé que celui de Picasso et de Dali en peinture. Les Portugais arrivent par la petite porte, à un moment où la France, avec 50 millions d'habitants, n'a plus besoin de se faire une jeunesse à base de sang européen. On rechigne un peu et, malgré quelques incidents de parcours (certains, pris pour des "bougnoules," ont payé de leur vie), on s'apprête à les intégrer dans la grande famille européenne. Mais les Africains, du Nord et d'ailleurs, éprouvent des difficultés quasi insurmontables à s'insérer dans une société qui les rejette en invoquant un "seuil de tolérance" et la différence de cultures. On oublie pourtant que le nombre de ces "papillons de nuit" qu'attirent les lumières de la société de consommation était assez limité il y a environ deux

décennies et qu'alors comme aujourd'hui on faisait montre de la même intolérance, du même refus. Inassimilables aujourd'hui ces Français d'hier à qui l'on répétait que leurs "ancêtres les Gaulois étaient des gens blonds," et dont beaucoup ont versé leur sang "pour que vive la France."

A l'inverse de l'immigration européenne, l'immigration nord-africaine et noire est un phénomène de type colonial qui persiste depuis au moins 50 ans. Malgré les euphémismes et les clichés de la France d'outre-mer et de l'ancienne Communauté française, les Français ont toujours considéré les "Français de souche musulmane algérienne" (FSMA dans l'Armée française) ou les "Français de droit coutumier" comme des sujets. Après les massacres de Sétif et de Madagascar, après Dien Bien Phu, après Evian, les Français se refusent à traiter en égaux les colonisés, les "inférieurs" d'hier. Les uns sont encore traités de "cannibales," les autres de "bicots" et de "ratons." Rejetés au niveau animal! "Si on était à Dakar, on se serait déjà fait bouffer!" proclame un gérant de café du quartier Latin.[9] Rejetés au niveau de l'anonymat des "ils" et des "eux" qui ne sont pas "comme nous" et qui permet d'excuser toutes les violences. En dehors des besognes salissantes, ces ilotes du XXe siècle ne savent prétendûment rien faire: "ce sont des débauchés (qui) se livrent à des attentats aux moeurs dans les toilettes;"[10] ils confondent pot-de-chambre et broc et parlent un sabir qu'ils prennent pour du français. Qu'un de ces Arabes ou de ces Noirs s'amuse à bien manier la langue de Racine et on lui dit, comme l'atteste l'exemple de Franz Fanon: "Pour un Algérien, vous parlez bien le français" ou "Si vous n'étiez pas noir, on vous aurait pris pour un Français du Berry!" Et l'on croit faire un compliment avec cela! Quand on veut le traiter avec moins d'égards, on lui décoche à haute voix le traditionnel "Tapis, mon-z-ami?" ou "toi y en a vouloir des sous?" On lui donne du "tu" et du "mon brave" du premier coup;[11] on l'appelle "Mohamed" quand son nom est Ali; comme dans L'Hôte et l'Etranger de Camus, il n'a souvent droit qu'aux appellatifs génériques: l'Arabe, le Kabyle ou le Noir. On lui chante le "Fais-moi du couscous, chérie!" de Bob Azzam pour lui montrer qu'on connaît le "fourbi arabe." Kateb Yacine disait dans une interview du Nouvel Observateur (10 avril 1972, p. 74) que "ceux qui devraient construire l'Algérie de demain viennent en France balayer les trottoirs." J'ajouterai que les immondices du trottoir ont des relents moins blessants que ceux de la conversation.

Le pire dans tout ceci est que le Français répète à qui veut l'entendre que "le Français n'est pas raciste." La France s'accroche à ce cliché pour se donner une bonne conscience et regarder de haut cette Amérique qui lâchait ses chiens policiers sur les émeutiers de Little Rock, de Birmingham et de Montgomery. Tout comme les Yankees qui disaient ne pas comprendre le racisme de leurs compatriotes sudistes. Jusqu'au jour où à Marseille (assassinat d'Emile Gerlach par un Algérien pris de démence), comme ces derniers temps (nov. - déc. 1974) à Boston, une étincelle vienne mettre le feu à la poudrière du racisme qui, comme la saleté ou la bêtise, n'a pas de patrie.

La création toute récente du Secrétariat d'Etat aux Travailleurs Immigrés témoigne de la volonté du gouvernement de regarder la France raciste "au fond des yeux." M. Paul Dijoud qui dirige ce sécrétariat a bien compris que "cette volonté ne servirait à rien si elle ne finissait par rencontrer l'adhésion des Français." (Vincent Lalu, l'Express du 21-27 oct. 1974, p. 31) Non seulement il aborde le débat à la télévision ("Dossiers de l'écran" du 26 nov. 1974, émission durant laquelle un film d'un Algérien sur les travailleurs algériens, "Mektoub," a été projeté), mais il envisage, fort de l'expérience audio-visuelle américaine dans ce domaine, une campagne d'information à base de "feuilletons télévisés dans lesquels des Nord-Africains, Espagnols ou Portugais auraient un rôle sympathique." (Paris-Match du 26 octobre 1974, p. 61). C'est à l'honneur de M. Dijoud d'avoir compris que la dénonciation de la "politique de l'autruche" en matière de racisme passait par le "déboulonnage" des clichés racistes. "Français, si vous saviez!" Ces manifestations du 19e d'artillerie de Draguignan (10 sept. 1974)[12] n'étaient pas dues, n'en déplaise à M. Jacques Soufflet, à des "manifestants professionnels" mais bel et bien "une histoire de racisme." (voir l'Express du 16-22 sept. 1974, p. 39) Les manifestations qui ont accompagné la visite de M. Valéry Giscard d'Estaing à la Guadeloupe (12 déc. 1974) confirment l'origine coloniale du racisme à l'égard des Noirs, qu'ils soient Antillais ou Sénégalais. Parler de "seuil de tolérance" pour l'expliquer ne doit pas laisser perdre de vue qu'il s'agit ici d'une question de morale et non de science.

Pour dénoncer le racisme et en guérir, il faut commencer par détruire ces clichés-mythes de ces "ils," ces "eux" qui "viennent manger notre pain" au lieu de "rester chez eux." La dénonciation du racisme entreprise jusqu'ici par les chrétiens libéraux et la presse de gauche devrait être étendue au domaine public. Les "représentations collectives" désuètes devraient être remplacées par de nouvelles plus réalistes dans le cadre d'une campagne d'information basée sur les réflexes langagiers. Pour paraphraser Franz Fanon, je dirai que "le Français peut tout comprendre pourvu qu'on se donne la peine de lui expliquer." Extirper le mal en s'attaquant aux clichés qui le colportent n'est pas une entreprise impossible. Impossible n'est pas français!

"Quelle nation que la française,
si on voulait!" (Voltaire, l'Homme
aux quarante écus, Titre IX)

NOTES

1. Charles Bally, Linguistique générale et linguistique française (Berne: Francke, 1944), paragraph 571.

2. Charles Bally, Traité de stylistique française (Paris: Klincksieck, 1951), I,85.

3. Roland Barthes, Mythologies: cité par Pierre Christin et Philippe Lefebvre dans Comprendre la France.

4. J.-P. Vinay et J. Darbelnet, Stylistique comparée du français et de l'anglais (1958; nlle éd. Paris: Didier, 1967), p. 253. Nous incluons dans les clichés non seulement les idiotismes, locutions et expressions toutes faites, mais aussi les citations et allusions figés dans le message.

5. Cf. Pierre Guiraud, Les Locutions françaises (Paris: P.V.F., 1962); Robert A. Perreau et Margaret J. Langford, Concise French-American Dictionary of Figurative and Idiomatic Language/ Lexique américain-français de la langue idiomatique (Paris: Ophrys, 1972); Reine C. Kelly, Expressions idiomatiques en français vivant (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovich, 1974).

6. Voir: André Malraux, Antimémoires (Paris: Gallimard, 1967). p. 144.

7. Les clichés, ainsi que la citation qui suit sur les harkis (anciens supplétifs algériens), sont prise au Canard Enchaîné du 16 octobre 1974, "Giscard, tes harkis!", p. 5.

8. "Flic-flac à Sceaux," Le Canard Enchaîné du 16 octobre 1974, p. 6.

9. Rapporté par Nicole Muchnik, "Pour Blancs seulement...." dans Le Nouvel Observateur du 10 avril 1972. Voir également "Immigration: Flambée raciste en Haute-Savoie" dans l'Express (30 sept. 6 oct.1974), p. 57. Des affiches d'un prétendu "Comité d'action européen" incitaient les travailleurs français à se défendre contre "les allogènes ... qui viennent vous prendre votre travail par l'acceptation de salaires misérables en vivant comme des bêtes." (C'est moi qui souligne).

10. Ibid.

11. Voir: Franz Fanon, Peau noire, masques blancs (Paris: Seuil, 1952), p. 45.

12. Des soldats métropolitains sont descendus dans la rue pour protester contre le racisme des gradés à l'égard de leurs compagnons juifs et antillais.

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LA GUYANE: PAST AND PRESENT

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It is very uplifting professionally to see the recent spawning of civilization subjects in our foreign language colloquia -- conferences which have been limited formerly to language, literature and pedagogy. Culture has been for too long the private domain of historians, anthropologists and political scientists who have sometimes approached their studies myopically since they often have a blighted or even blind perspective of literature and language, two of the major columns of civilization. The study of the interfacing of culture, language and literature offers the foreign language scholar the opportunity to broaden his horizons in areas in which he is eminently qualified, and by so doing he is, at the same time, more in the mainstream of this generation's interests which are decidedly social and people-oriented. My brief discussion of la Guyane has as its narrow goal the exposure of the development of a little known French civilization in our hemisphere of the world; on the larger scale my intention is to attract scholars to the intriguing and challenging work of investigating foreign cultures in a broader vein than is generally done. We should try to avoid fractured, isolated studies of these cultures as well as the tourist-postcard-generalization approach. Our aim should be to synthesize those disjointed fragments that comprise a people and its culture and serve our findings to a broad public. Certainly our impact as scholars would be enhanced.

Although some serious and comprehensive studies of la culture française d'outre-mer have been accomplished, notably for Québec and la Louisiane, much remains to be done. This is especially true for other French civilizations in the Americas where little attention has been focused, such as the Antilles, the islands of the West Indies, and la Guyane. Most of the works that I consulted for my presentation were outdated and incomplete, and my appeal to the French government for information received no response. Some of my information came from personal sources, most significantly, Léon Damas, former député from Guyane and a leading poet and spokesman of the négritude movement. An appreciation of la Guyane's past and its present search for survival and identity should, I think, point out the need for continued study and involvement in la Guyane by researchers and humanists.

Most of us have but a very vague idea of where or what la Guyane is. It is easily confused with Guinea, formerly French Guinea in West Africa, or with British Guiana, now called Guyana, or with Dutch Guiana (also called Netherlands Guiana), now called Surinam. Geographically, French Guiana lies southest of Guyana and Surinam and northeast of Brazil. It is much larger in square mileage than its sister French civlizations, Martinique, Guadeloupe and Haiti. It is sparsely populated, however, having about one-fifth of the population of either Martinique or Guadeloupe, and most of its 53,000 inhabitants are riveted on the coastal capital city, Cayenne.

La Guyane's past is as stormy as its future is uncertain. The first to see it, supposedly, was Christopher Columbus during his third voyage to the Americas. Alphonse d'Ojeda and Amerigo Vespucci note its presence in 1499. Vincent Pinçon is the first to carefully reconnoiter la Guyane's coastline. In the 16th century, a Spanish officer named Martínez reported that a treasure-laden city left by the Incas existed near Lake Parimé, called Manoa del Dorado. Scores of Europeans invaded the Guianas, as the three entities were then called, in search of this imaginary city. Sir Walter Raleigh, in his visit and subsequent study of the area in the late 16th century, was not entirely convinced that such a city did not exist. The French began to establish themselves there in the early 17th century, making la Guyane one of France's earliest colonies. Its warm climate and apparent riches allowed it to compete favorably for France's interests in establishing colonies in Acadia, Canada, West Africa, and the Antilles. By 1633, the French ran into troubles that would plague their efforts for centuries. The native Indians, or Aborigenes, resisted fiercely the French design to have the indigenous population carry out French colonization policies. The Dutch and the English began to rival one another for supremacy over the whole area. Moreover, the French companies which had patented, legal rights granted by Louis XIV to control and exploit this territory began to compete for the spoils, often undermining each other and hindering a cohesive effort to inhabit the territory and produce profitable yields. In 1664 Louis XIV deemed it necessary to grant all territorial rights to one company, giving it control over the Antilles, Acadia, Canada, West Africa, and Cayenne, as well as the South American territory between the Orinoco and the Amazon Rivers. Slave labor was brought there in abundance in the 17th century to help reap the riches of the earth, originally thought to be available for the taking in the form of trees, gold, and other minerals, especially bauxite and attar. The incessant rain of the interior, the impenetrable forests in the north and the rocky lands and marshes of the south and southern coast, soon convinced the French colonizers and other Europeans to conduct their business in Cayenne -- mainly in the form of commerce. They also discovered that, unlike the coast of the other Guianas, the area around Cayenne was sufficiently elevated for farming, and they did not therefore see the efficacy of creating an expansive canal system in the interior as was done by the British and the Dutch. Thus, the groundwork was laid for an inferior and limited agronomizing of la Guyane. The Indians retreated to the recesses of the forest to pursue their own lifestyle while the African blacks, and later the European blacks, balked at taming those areas where the French whites refused to go.

M. Devez, in his fine article in the book Exposition Coloniale Internationale, says that at the conclusion of French rule in Canada in 1763 the French made a great effort to renew their interests in la Guyane: "il se proposait d'y établir une population nationale et libre, capable de résister par elle-même aux attaques étrangères et de servir de boulevard aux autres colonies françaises d'Amérique."[1]

Of the 12,000 people, mostly from Alsace and Lorraine, only 2,000 survived to make it back to France several years later, so ill-prepared were they for such an enterprise. France's weakened stature in the eyes of la Guyane, its inability to create stability and self-sustenance there, was ready fodder for the canons of revolt of the liberated slaves in 1794. But the blacks and the Indians had no real foundation for independence. The 12,000 slaves in particular had no direction and continued to cling to the confused leadership of the 2,000 French whites. In essence they were all hopeless children of their bungling mother, France. Despite Napoleon's hopes of a strong France d'outre-mer, France lost la Guyane to Portugal for eight years, retrieving it definitively in 1817. M. Devez credits most of la Guyane's survival and quasi-liberation of its inhabitants to Mme Jahouvey, one of the nuns sent by France to do missionary work there. In 1835, 550 blacks were sent to Mana to "y être préparés, par le travail et les bonnes moeurs, à jouir sans réserve."[2] This final freedmon came, as we all know, in 1848.

Since that liberation, however, very little progress was made toward making la Guyane self-supporting. The gold rushes of 1853 quickly fizzled out and most of the mines were vacated. In fact the search for easy profits hindered the sure long-term gains in agriculture. The sugar cane industry in la Guyane, which once competed fiercely in the world market, became minuscule, since the Guianans failed to produce sugar beet, which captured the sugar market. Coffee, cotton, and cacao production flagged also. The Guianans also failed in the cattle industry and began to import most of their beef from the U.S. and Venezuela. Likewise, they failed to reap gains from their rich treasure of timber; only several sawmills were reported by M. Devez in his 1931 report, and their commerce was limited for the most part to la Guyane. In fact la Guyane's exports became far inferior to her imports and she saw herself largely dependent on France for her subsistence, despite her high potential in agriculture and minerals. At the conclusion of his chapter on la Guyane, M. Devez said that despite failures of investors in la Guyane --due to dishonesty by some, lack of appropriate study of the situation by others, and insufficient capital and impatience in general-- since France is taking charge of its expenses in this new territory, "une ère nouvelle, pleine de promesses s'ouvre pour notre 'France équinoxiale'." Since 1931, however, very little has changed politically in la Guyane and almost nothing has altered the economic stagnation there.

If we now turn a brief critical eye at France's policy in colonization, it is not to impugn unequivocably France's humanitarian motives behind her colonization efforts. La Guyane was virtually unoccupied in the 17th century, great sums of money have been spent by France on la Guyane in recent decades, without much hope for returns, and the anti-slavery campaign begun in 1888 by Cardinal Lavigerie[3] tried, on an international level, to right the wrongs France had committed in this domain. It is, rather, to expose France's purpose in colonization and her governmental disposition toward her colonies today that we look at France's policy in colonization. Mr. Roberts, in his excellent study, History of French

Colonial Policy (1870-1925),[4] points out that France's venture into colonization was late; when she started competing with England, Germany and Holland in the 19th Century, for example, much of the close and healthy land available was taken. Thus her territories formed an amorphous conglomerate without cohesion. Also, France never operated out of the same necessity as its competitors: it was not overpopulated, it had adequate agriculture for its population, and it was not seeking outlets for its exports since its industrial strength was behind England's and Germany's in the late 19th century. Even during France's militaristic expansion, Mr. Roberts writes, colonization was not a duty, not a necessity, not a strengthening of investment, but a jeu d'armes. Furthermore, it was never France's intention, as it was Great Britain's and the Netherlands', for example, to have vast numbers of people emigrate from the metropolis itself in order to create an independent, integrated, and self-supporting extension of itself in the new territories. Rather, France expected the new territories to nourish the Métropole. To quote Mr. Roberts, "Colonial subordination remains the central fact in French overseas effort -- a fact that cannot be too strongly emphasized, because it determines the whole of French colonial policy. Reduced to fundamentals, the French system is simply subordination. The colony exists only to strengthen the motherland: its own strength is to be fostered as a distinct aim, only to the degree to which it secures an added advantage for France."[5]

Such a policy explains why France installed its major prison system in la Guyane, where more than 70,000 prisoners (relégués and bagnards) wasted their lives for more than 150 years; why it placed its space missile program there in the '60's; and why France decided to have its Caribbean territories become départements rather than grant them freedom and support as did the British and Dutch. France preferred to deposit in la Guyane those elements which, had they stayed in France, could have hurt the Métropole; at the same time, the effect of such an action tied the colony irrevocably to the mother country. The Guianans became hopelessly attached to the prison system so that when the penal colony was abolished in 1945 they had no means of exploring other potentials. Likewise, when the Guianans chose to become a département in 1946, 4,000 of the possible 7,000 workers became and remain clerks for the overseas governance.

All of these preceding facts are largely the distilled studies of historians and political scientists; but the real drama of the struggle of a people adjusting to the juxtaposition of two cultures has not been adequately surveyed. M. Brunschwig points out that in 1900 the Congress for Colonial Sociology recognized the importance of understanding the customs, traditions and even prejudices of the Colonial people. He quotes, furthermore, Charles Depincé who said in La Quinzaine Coloniale that benevolence, respect for local customs and habits, and prudence in the transformation of the indigenous people must be preserved. Such tactics were obviously not successfully employed or la Guyane would have closer affinity to France today. Despite the fact that la Guyane speaks French, is for the most part Roman Catholic, and lives under a French educational and governmental system, one has the impression that its spirit is much closer to that of the Caribbean than to France, says Mr. Waddell in his book, The West Indies Today.[6]

It is up to the humanists to complement the historian's and political scientist's facts with broad studies in language and literature. It is through these vehicles that the real pathos and expression of the colonists can be felt. It is now that this drama is being played in la Guyane; tomorrow its indigenous passions and expressions will be absorbed in the avalanche of civilization, and with them the memory of its former self.

If we turn our attention to some of the literature produced in la Guyane, we see that the human condition is amply explored. Yet, I see no mention of these works as expression of the Guianan concept of life in the surveys and histories of these people and their land. An astute literary critic can read between the lines of works of bagnards, for example, written between the 20's and 40's for the expressed purpose of abolishing the inhuman penal colony in la Guyane, and see how the Guianan himself was made party to the imprisonment; how the Guianan was forced to prostitute his natural existence to the expedient commerce of French economics; how he trafficked and compromised his language and mores to survive in the face of external dominant forces. Books by Belbenoit, Danan, Devèze, Pitou, Villiers[7] and a host of others, including Charrière and his famous Papillon, made good adventure reading for the French public and furnished sociology and psychology doctoral students abundant material for their doctoral theses. A trained humanist and literature specialist, however, can appreciate the drama on the sideline of these prison stories. The subtle allusions to the Guianan's civilization in these works show how the Guianan's primitive, mixed and unique oral tradition bends before the imposing civilization and its structured and refined language, and how at the same time his art of life conforms to the French pattern.

Most striking in this regard is the case of Léon Damas. His early works certainly helped kill the penal colony in la Guyane and, intentionally on his part or otherwise, bring to his colony the status of département. His voice and his writings have made of la Guyane one of the focal points in the négritude movement, and thus bring dynamic and global attention to its cultural disposition. Yet, his vision and his message have not been included in the general studies on la Guyane's culture, and he has not been completely translated into Spanish or English, which would be very appropriate given la Guyane's geographical position. Studies on him have been limited to his poetic persuasion and his négritude perspective, while ignoring the intimate and distinct cultural cloth from which his writings were cut. It is true that one of his most famous collections, Pigments, Névralgies, links him exclusively to the black revolt without a distinct alignment to la Guyane. The stealing of his black existence, the rape of his religion and identity, and the rocky juxtaposition of his natural thought and his Parisian education are the principal themes. However, in Black-Label we see the distinct properties of la Guyane and the Guianan, and Damas' attachment to them. Page after page of this long poem reveals his hymn to the natural beauty of la Guyane's culture and the expression of his people, and we feel his anxiety at the thought of their particular assimilation

into the white culture and their eventual disappearance. Even more revealing, but equally ignored as a key to Guianan humanity and culture, is his poignant collection of short stories, Veillées noires. These stories have animal protagonists, much in the fashion of La Fontaine, and their characterizations, habitats, language and actions depict the character and ethic of the Guianan. Also, the animals that maintain their traditions and relationships with their own kind overturn the would-be enterprises of the vicious or rapacious foreign animals. In this world of satire and caricature in Veillées Noires, much can be gleaned about the Guianan's intimate consciousness of his challenged values, if, of course, someone takes up the task.

In conclusion, I hope that I have introduced you to the historical, economical and political situation in la Guyane and suggested that the image of la Guyane and the Guianan is based more on statistical facts than on the human element. The drama of confrontation and assimilation on the human level as expressed by language and literature is far from being finished or researched. For the linguist, the drift phenomenon in la Guyane presents an active subject; for the literature specialist, much poetry and prose needs to be analyzed and translated. La Guyane is more accessible today than ever. Added to its improved radio and postal system is a new university complex in the Antilles,[8] inviting a greater exchange of scholars and ideas. The humanist has the right, and perhaps the obligation, to delve into the oral, literary and artistic expressions of the Guianan before they become but hermetic remnants of an extinct civilization. He should add his findings to those of the historian and political scientist and thus yield a more comprehensive collage of la Guyane, past and present.

NOTES

1 G. Devez, "La Guyane française," in L'Exposition Coloniale internationale (Paris, 1931), p. 24.

2 Ibid., p. 30.

3 Henri Brunschwig, French Colonialism, 1871-1914, Myths and Realities (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, 1966), p. 168.

4 Stephen H. Roberts, History of French Colonial Policy (1870-1925), Vol. II, (London, 1929), pp. 634-637.

5 Ibid., p. 636.

6 D.G. Waddell, The West Indies and the Guianas (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1967), p. 26.

7 See Marcel Le Clère, La Vie quotidienne dans les bagnes (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1973), pp. 303-309.

8 Daniel Racine, "L'Implantation d'un centre universitaire français aux Antilles: Le C.U.A.G.," France Education, No. 3, (New York, 1975), pp. 1-8.

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NEGRITUDE ET REVOLUTION

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La négritude, mouvement littéraire noir de langue française, naît à Paris en 1933. C'est un nouveau romantisme. Comme l'autre, il coïncide avec une révolution: la décolonisation. Ses chefs d'école se nomment Léopold Sedar Senghor, Aimé Césaire et Léon Damas. Césaire forge le mot négritude, et cette oeuvre de feu qu'est son Cahier d'un retour au pays natal propose au Dictionnaire un bonnet rouge tout neuf.

Trois étudiants noirs, parmi beaucoup d'autres. Paris leur ouvre les yeux sur leur passé culturel. Venus d'Afrique, des Antilles et de la Guyane, ils découvrent l'Afrique-mère dans les études des ethnologues Frobenius, Delafosse, Hardy: l'Afrique de la traite et de l'esclavage a eu un passé glorieux, des docteurs, des amazones et des caravanes royales, une civilisation bien à elle, qu'il faut faire revivre et réhabiliter, et dont il faut écrire l'épopée.

Mais afin de revendiquer cette culture il faut prendre conscience de sa race, l'assumer; après avoir touché le fond de la négritude, il faut la proclamer. En 1934, l'Etudiant noir s'en charge. Il ne s'agit plus pour le nègre de vouloir se blanchir, il faut rester ou redevenir noir: "Rendez-les moi mes poupées noires que je joue avec elles les jeux naïfs de mon enfance" chantera Damas. "Rasez-vous !" dira Césaire, tandis que Senghor se contentera de remarquer: "Sur le plan de la création artistique, nous n'avons de leçons à recevoir de personne." [1] Il y avait en effet dans les mêmes années une renaissance parallèle des arts nègres: Picasso, Braque, Vlaminck n'avaient pas caché leur admiration pour l'art africain; Apollinaire avait souvent évoqué l'Afrique; le jazz avait commencé de faire reculer la musique européenne. Si la négritude est la décolonisation d'une race, les jalons qu'elle pose pour décoloniser l'Afrique sont si solidement ancrés dans le sol de France, la terre d'Afrique et des Antilles, qu'ils pourront attendre la fin de la guerre prochaine pour être relevés.

En 1939, les deux écrivains qui deviendront les chantres par excellence de la négritude sont séparés. Césaire rentre à la Martinique, et Senghor, maintenant premier agrégé africain de l'Université, professeur de français très estimé à Saint-Maur-des-Fossés et Tours, est fait prisonnier en 1940. Il est soldat de 2è classe. Il écrit ses Hosties noires en captivité. Réformé, il se remet à enseigner en France. En 1945, après la publication d'un recueil de poèmes, Chants d'ombre, il est élu député du Sénégal--son pays natal--à l'Assemblée Constituante. En 1948, Sartre préface son Anthologie de la nouvelle poésie nègre et malgache de langue française. Ethiopiques, en 1956, fait du député un

poète consacré. En 1960, Senghor devient Président de la République du Sénégal indépendant. Il continue à écrire.

A la Martinique, Césaire suit la même voie. Encouragé et aidé par André Breton, il attendra 1948 pour publier en entier sa Bible de la négritude, le Cahier d'un retour au pays natal. Pendant les années de guerre, Césaire et sa femme, gaullistes et résistants, sont professeurs au lycée de Fort-de-France. Ils fondent avec d'autres écrivains noirs des Antilles la revue Tropiques. Les buts de Césaire sont: de revaloriser le folklore antillais, de faire connaître l'Afrique à son peuple, de l'ouvrir au surréalisme. Césaire est aussi surréaliste et révolutionnaire que son ami Senghor est conservateur et pacifiste. Député communiste de la Martinique, Césaire quitte le Parti en 1956. Il est le maire de Fort-de-France. Il publie d'autres recueils de poèmes, et dans la veine du Cahier. Ce sont: Les armes miraculeuses, Ferrements. Il écrit pour le théâtre Le roi Christophe, Une saison au Congo, Et les chiens se taisaient. Césaire sait être raciste, "Je suis d'avant Adam, je ne relève ni du même lion, ni du même arbre, je suis d'un autre chaud et d'un autre froid." Son oeuvre est un cri proféré contre les siens. Il se soulève contre l'apathie du nègre et la politique d'assimilation; il attaque les métis qui se veulent plus noirs que blancs.

"Au bout du petit matin...," commence le Cahier, aux Antilles qui ont faim, on rêve de Paradis perdus à l'odeur de savane. Au bout du désespoir, le poète appelle à son secours les volcans éteints, pour secouer "cette ville inerte... cette ville si étrangement bavarde et muette... cette foule désolée... ce négrillon somnolent," [2] au catéchisme comme à l'école. Ce pays qui lui fait honte, c'est pourtant "ce plus essentiel pays restitué à ma gourmandise." Il y a les Noëls passés, les cases aux toits "rapiécés de morceaux de bidons de pétrole." C'est la rue Paille,"où la mer rapporte les chats crevés et où le vice s'étale." (Cahier, pp. 22-34) Il faut quitter cette misère, devenir "un homme-juif... un Congo bruissant de forêts et de fleuves," laisser derrière soi les "vomissures de négrier," (pp. 56-82) les nègres laveurs de vaisselle et cireurs de chaussures, les danseurs de claquettes. "Au bout du petit matin...," le poète implore, et son vers devient incantation. Il faut rester, il faut pousser ces nègres à l'action, leur donner l'orgueil de leur race: "Donnez-moi la foi sauvage du sorcier... mais préservez-moi de toute haine... Colombe monte... je te suis." C'est dans le désespoir et non dans le ressentiment qu'il faut "pêcher" son âme, sa négritude. (pp. 104-140) Le ton de ce long poème, en vers et en prose, est fracassant, volcanique. Le poète hurle, massacre, invective, prie, plaide. Il se grise de mots-dynamite. Il les égrène, les déverse dans un tam-tam bondissant; à moins qu'il ne les récite en litanies. Le rythme ainsi participe, comme les images, flamboyantes, elles aussi, à la pensée. Le poète chante et danse son message.

La langue française n'a jamais été aussi malmenée. Elle sort pourtant, de ces transes, plus belle--victorieuse. Vouloir comprendre les néologismes de Césaire semble superflu, tant la matière et la résonance en sont superbes. "La poésie de Césaire", dira-t-on," est la plus

française d'aujourd'hui. L'influence de Breton et des surréalistes est indéniable, autant que celle de Rimbaud et d'Apollinaire. Elle apparaît même facilement dans les titres "Une saison au Congo,"--l'enfer de la libération du Congo belge--et Soleil cou coupé.[3]

Chez Senghor le procédé et la matière sont différents. Lui aussi est nègre avec fierté, mais dans la mesure, la sérénité et l'amour. Pour lui, la négritude est moins une descente aux enfers qu'un pèlerinage dans le passé lointain de l'Afrique et celui plus proche de l'enfance. Poète, il aime les mots et surtout les étranges sonorités de sa langue maternelle. Les consonnes doubles, les hiatus qui ralentissent le rythme semblent empreints à la fois de vénération et de sensualité:"Ndéssé," un nom de femme et celui de sa mère, dont il aurait dû devenir "le palmier florissant," s'il n'y avait eu la guerre et la politique, et à qui il voudrait rendre "l'ivresse de la jeunesse";[4] "Naëtt, son nom à la douceur de la cannelle c'est le parfum où dort le bois de citronniers/ Naëtt, son nom a la blancheur sucrée des caféiers en fleurs / C'est la savane qui flamboie sous l'amour mâle de Midi."[5] C'est Joal aussi, sa ville natale, qu'il aime invoquer quand la séparation se fait plus douloureuse, et quand l'évocation du cri d'amour des femmes de là-bas "Kor Siga!"[6] allège l'exil. L'image des jeunes filles noires "au talon rose ... au ventre de douceur, à la croupe de colline, à la poitrine de fruits de rônier"[7] appartient au pays retrouvé, à l'Afrique chaude et odorante. En nègre authentique, Senghor chante sa "signare," la femme noire, répétant à l'exemple des griots sénégalais le nom qu'il veut honorer autant que la louange. Pour être tout à fait nègre il choisit des mots concrets:

> [car] les nègres, ont le goût du concret. Ils y sont portés par leur hérédité. C'est en partant des langues négro-africaines, qu'on le comprend le mieux. Les mots y sont toujours enceints d'images.[8]

Ainsi la"femme nue,femme obscure" sera-t-elle "huile que ne ride nul souffle, huile calme aux flancs de l'athlète, aux flancs des princes du Mali." ("Femme noire," Poèmes)

Si le nègre est avant tout émotion, ses gestes et ses actes sont soumis aux mouvements de l'âme, en l'occurence au "souffle vital," selon le nom que les Sérères et les Wolofs donnent à l'âme et qui signifie "nez" et "respiration."[9] Senghor, après avoir ainsi expliqué ce qu'il appelle "l'animisme nègre," écrira:

> Mon amante à mon flanc, dont l'huile fait docile mes mains
> mon âme
> ma force s'érige dans l'abandon, mon honneur dans la soumission
> Et ma science dans l'instinct de ton rythme ("Congo," Poèmes.)

On relève dans le rythme de Senghor tantôt le verset de Claudel, tantôt le halètement du tam-tam. C'est selon le sujet à traiter. Les inversions et l'absence de ponctuation contribuent à cet effet. Ici percussion:

Qui l'apaisera, mon coeur,
A l'appel du tam-tam
bondissant,
véhément,
lancinant?
("Jardin de France," Poèmes.)

Là, vénération:

Ah! me soutient l'espoir qu'un jour je coure devant toi,
Princesse, porteur de ta récade à l'assemblée des peuples.
("Chants d'ombre VIII," Poèmes.)

Si l'on ajoute que le poète fait accompagner la récitation par les instruments africains qu'il choisit pour chaque poème particulier, et au sacrifice de l'accentuation naturelle, on admettra qu'il a recherché tous les effets possibles pour donner à la littérature de la négritude son propre climat. Il est en cela le plus africain des écrivains négro-africains de la langue française.

Le français, langue de communication pour beaucoup de nouveaux états africains, prend ainsi une autre dimension et une autre tonalité. De plus, la poésie noire de langue française est supérieure à la poésie française d'aujourd'hui, parce qu'elle est aussi poésie engagée et évangéliste. A l'encontre de l'essai et du roman, "elle n'est pas monologue, mais dialogue, pas leçon, mais tension, pas distance... présence et caresse... musique... une danse d'amour." (Liberté I, p. 401) S'ils n'avaient été forcés à l'usage du français en tant que colonisés, les Négro-africains l'auraient choisie, à cause évidemment de la richesse de son vocabulaire par rapport à leurs langues maternelles, mais aussi parce qu'ils ont besoin des mots abstraits qui n'existent pas dans leurs langues, de ces mots,

où les larmes deviennent des pierres précieuses. Chez nous, les mots sont naturellement nimbés d'un halo de sève et de sang; les mots français rayonnent de mille feux, comme des diamants. Des fusées qui éclairent notre nuit... c'est la langue des dieux... les grandes orgues qui se prêtent à tous les timbres, à tous les effets, des douceurs les plus suaves aux fulgurances de l'orage. Il est tour à tour, ou en même temps, flûte, haubois, trompette, tam-tam et même canon. (Liberté I, p. 226)

Trompette et canon, le français a servi à annoncer la bonne nouvelle, la négritude retrouvée. Il chante désormais les blues de la traite et de l'esclavage, de l'exil et du préjudice racial. Tels sont les thèmes de la négritude, aux quatre coins de l'ancien empire colonial français. De Haïti, Brierre écrit :

Souvent comme moi tu sens des courbatures
Se réveiller après les siècles meurtris
Et saigner dans ta chair les anciennes blessures [10]

Damas, poète de la Guyane, se souvient, "Mes aujourd'hui ont chacun sur mon jadis/ de gros yeux qui roulent de rancoeur et de honte." ("La Complainte du nègre," dans Pigments.) Le réconfort est pour Jacques Roumain à l'autre bout du monde: "Afrique, j'ai gardé ta mémoire Afrique/ Tu es en moi comme l'écharde dans la blessure."[11]

Francesco Nditsouna accuse:

> Ils sont venus
> Au clair de lune
> ---
> Ils sont venus
> Civilisation
> Bibles sur le bras
> Fusils en main.[12]

Césaire, le Martiniquais, écrit à Paris:

> ma négritude n'est pas une pierre, sa surdité ruée
> contre la clameur du jour
> ma négritude n'est pas une taie d'eau morte sur
> l'oeil mort de la terre
> ma négritude n'est ni une tour ni une cathédrale
>
> elle plonge dans la chair rouge du sol
> elle plonge dans la chair ardente du ciel
> elle troue l'accablement opaque de sa droite patience.

A Tours, l'appel du tam-tam arrache Senghor à la quiétude du paysage et des "mains blanches / gestes délicats/ gestes apaisants" qui l'y retenaient:

> Mais l'appel du tam-tam
> bondissant
> par monts
> et
> continents,
>
> Qui l'apaisera, mon coeur,
> A l'appel du tam-tam
> bondissant,
> véhément,
> lancinant?
> ("Jardin de France," Poèmes)

La négritude a fait son chemin. La révolution est finie. Le Négro-africain de langue française est devenu un métis culturel. Nègre de race et fier de ses "anciens," il s'exprime et se gouverne en français. Il est instruit en français. Senghor a comparé le Sénégalais à un palmier dont les racines puisent l'humidité de la terre -- le passé africain -- et dont les feuilles absorbent l'air et le soleil de la culture contemporaine. "La greffe est parfaite... le scion européen étant planté dans le sauvageon ... africain." L'Université de Dakar, inaugurée en 1959, est, dit Senghor, "essentiellement une université française, au service de l'Afrique... on y enseignera surtout le génie français."[13]. C'est que, ainsi que l'a remarqué avec plaisir Armand Guibert, "Senghor a fait un mariage d'amour avec la France."[14] La vraie culture, insiste le poète et Président de la République du Sénégal, est faite d'apports différents. La civilisation latine intègre à l'homme la nature à laquelle la civilisation nègre s'abandonne. Que l'homme se livre aux deux mouvements, qu'il y ait accord parfait entre l'homme et la nature, et les grandes civilisations sont en marche. Ce sera, après la négritude et la révolution, l'Africanité, "la connaissance par le Dialogue, par l'Amour."[15]

NOTES

1. Cité par Lylian Kesteloot dans Aimé Césaire, Poètes d'aujourd'hui (Paris: Seghers, 1962), p. 23.
2. Aimé Césaire, Cahier d'un retour au pays natal (Paris: Présence africaine, 1968) p. 12-18.
3. Apollinaire dans Alcools.
4. "Ndéssé," L.S. Senghor, Poèmes (Paris: Edn. du Seuil, 1964).
5. "Pour tama," L.S. Senghor, Chants pour Naëtt (Paris: Seghers) p. 19.
6. "Joal," Senghor, Poèmes.
7. "Ethiopiques," Ibid.
8. L.S. Senghor, Liberté I (Paris: Edn. du Seuil, 1964) p. 142.
9. Ibid., p. 71.
10. Cité par Sartre dans Orphée Noir, Situations III (Paris:Gallimard,1949), p. 273.
11. Poème de Jacques Roumain dans L.S . Senghor, Anthologie de la nouvelle poésie nègre et malgache de langue française (Paris: Presses universitaires françaises, 1949).
12. Cité par Melone dans De la Négritude dans la littérature Négro-africaine (Paris: Présence africaine, 1962), p. 66.
13. Senghor, Liberté I, p. 230-295.
14. Armand Guibert, Léopold Sédar Senghor (Paris: Seghers, 1962), p. 46.
15. Senghor, Liberté I, p. 359.

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THE OCCITAN MOVEMENT IN SOUTHERN FRANCE

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The Occitan movement in Southern France should be studied in the light of a world-wide political reality of our days, the surfacing of ethnic minorities which are beginning to voice cultural and political demands in almost all large industrialized or developing countries. Examples in this hemisphere are the Blacks, Chicanos, Indians, French communities in Louisiana, Maine, French Canadians. In Europe, every major nation has its minority problem or problems, suffice it to mention the Scots, the Welsh in England, the Croatians in Northern Yugoslavia, the Catalans and Basques in Spain. In France at least five minority groups can be distinguished: the Flemish, Alsatians, Occitans, Basques and Bretons.

After the two World Wars, the large colonial empires were liquidated and so were their imperialist ideologies. In general, postwar European nationals fail to believe in the moral mission of nation states. This disillusionment could be due to the formation of the Western military alliance which made military conflicts between adjacent members virtually impossible; the strong propaganda for a political European federation is another factor contributing to the erosion of nationalist or chauvinist ideologies.

As a reaction to this crisis of national identity, people tend to revert to smaller ethnic units which lost their political significance long ago but never ceased to be an important factor in the emotional life of the peoples.

The first step for a minority group to come into existence is almost without exception to look back and discover or re-discover its own history - and that is where they begin to diverge from one another, each having its own history of foreign invasions and dominations, sometimes long periods of acculturation to the ruling nation.

The Occitan group in France can claim for itself three unique historical and geographic features:

1) It had a fully developed literary language in the Middle Ages, Old Provençal.
2) It produced the oldest European literature after the decline of the Greco-Roman civilization (The Troubadours).
3) It is the largest minority group in France (10 - 13 million Frenchmen speak some form of Occitan: the Occitan territory comprises 32 départements, one third of Continental France).

It sounds almost like a contradiction, but it should nevertheless be

mentioned here that Occitania as a whole has never enjoyed political self-determination or statehood.

Historical survey:
The land bridge between Spain and Italy, today's Roussillon, Bas-Languedoc and Provence, was the first Roman foothold in Gaul. The earlier Phoenician and Greek settlements in the Provincia Narbonensis were thoroughly latinized long before Caesar's victory at Alesia (52 B.C.), which established Roman rule in Gaul. The subsequent Frankish conquest of the North did not affect the Southern provinces, parts of which were long held by the Saracens. Occitania was traditionally oriented towards the Mediterranean Sea: it was the crosspoint of trade routes from the Mediterranean to Western and Northern Europe (Marseille, Lyon) and from Spain to the Netherlands and England (Bordeaux). It was an advanced, open civilization, superior in many ways to the Frankish provinces of the North. However, the conquering drive of the Franks finally destroyed the Medieval Occitan civilization. Pope innocent III's call for a crusade against the Albigeois heresy served as a pretext for a most cruel military expedition down the Rhone valley (1208), but only in 1255 were the last pockets of Occitan resistance in the Pyrenees destroyed. Bordeaux and the West were wrested from the English in 1453.

Many Occitan institutions survived through the Ancien Régime, particularly certain republican traditions of urban government and the Roman (written) law, which in its turn influenced legal structures in Northern France, where the Germanic droit coutumier was in practice. Occitania adopted the Reformation with enthusiasm (Montauban, Lyon, Montpellier, Nîmes, La Rochelle). Literary contributions to the French community in this time are important: Du Bartas, Montaigne, Montesquieu, Pascal, Fénelon, P. Bayle

Systematic centralist policy towards Occitania started with the French Revolution when the Jacobins came into power. The liquidation of the Girondist faction led to a general uprising of the Southwestern provinces, immediately stamped out by republican forces. The economic drainage began with the rise of capitalism and industrialization under Napoleon III and the Third Republic. Obligatory school, instituted in 1870, was a major step towards the elimination of the Occitan language, by then contemptuously called " patois. "

The first awareness of the Occitan heritage in modern times appeared among the intellectuals as early as the second half of the eighteenth century. In the 19th Century Frédéric Mistral founded the Félibrige (1854), the first organized group of Occitan writers. They failed to support the prise de conscience of the working class in agricultural Occitania during a series of violent demonstrations of the wine growers in Provence, just after 1900. The two World Wars obliterated these developments, but no later than 1944 a group of intellectual résistants founded the still extant Institut d'Etudes Occitanes, which was followed in 1962 by the Comité Occitan d'Etudes et d'Action, its purpose being

political action rather than academic research. Its model is the C.E.L.I.B., which plays an important role in the minority movement of Brittany. The decentralization efforts following the general strike of May 1968 brought many improvements for the minority groups in general.

Present:

There is now a wide variety of activities promoting Occitan affairs. Since 1951 the Occitan language has been eligible as an optional subject (as a "foreign" language) within the baccalaureate. Over the years this has been very successful: In 1958, there were approximately 100 candidates within the Toulouse Academy conscription; in 1974 there were 2,500. They represent now 15-20% of all candidates in a given year. Occitan is taught in practically all high schools of Toulouse; still, there is an acute lack of teachers in this field.

The university's attitude has been more liberal from the beginning. Courses in local literature, history, law and art are well established. Important research is being done in linguistic geography (for example, the late Séguy's Atlas Linguistique de la Gascogne), descriptive linguistics (Lafont), literary, intellectual and political history (Nelli, Espieux, and again Lafont), art history (Roquebert), to mention just a few (see also bibliography). Many researchers in historical disciplines claim that traditional history has to be re-written. It is fascinating to re-discover Saint-Louis as a ruthless conqueror, to read about the Bordeaux Commune or the destruction of Marseille's Fort Saint-Jean at the same time when in Paris the Bastille was razed, or to discover whole literary schools such as the Occitan Baroque, which bloomed in the Southern provinces when in Paris Malherbe and Chapelain obstructed similar literary trends by imposing the poetic code of classical literature.

The Occitan movement articulates itself in an extensive, popular literature of great variety. There are dozens of chansonniers who turn out beautiful records and who also participate in political activities. Many of their songs are politically committed and use very radical language. Intended to create among the population a greater awareness of their cultural heritage, they are presented in live performances which are often followed by discussions with the audience. Sometimes their source of inspiration is without doubt Troubadour poetry. Novels of reginal content, both in French and Occitan, appear in growing numbers although one problem of written literature, the agreement on an all-Occitan orthographic standard, is not yet solved. There are presently at least three major Occitan dialects in use, the Occitan (Languedoc et Provence), Nord-Occitan (all the northern provinces) and Gascon (Gascogne). I am saying " at least " because some consider Catalan as a fourth Occitan dialect. A very important instrument to reach uneducated people is the Occitan theater. Three major theaters are now in operation: The Théâtre de la Carrière, which

has ties with the Communist Party, the subsidized Théâtre des Carmes, and the Centre Dramatique de Provence. They all can be called théâtre engagé, speaking to political and social issues, both in French and in Occitan. Especially the Théâtre de la Carrière ("Street Theater") operates on very innovative artistic principles: some plays of its repertory are created in a collective effort after researching a particular social or local setting in which the action of the play is to unfold, and the texts are constantly updated and adjusted to particular audiences, according to follow-up discussions and other changing factors.

Finally, there are amateur street comedians whose improvisations stem from age-old superstitions, carnival traditions and so forth.

In all its forms the Occitan Theater seems quite immersed in the Occitan people and has definite ideological goals. It is vital, thriving and would deserve a systematic study of its own.

Intellectual and literary exchange is assured by at least twenty-five periodicals which are more or less militant. Some of them are limited to small areas, others speak for the whole Occitan community (see bibliography).

Although there is a Parti Nationaliste Occitan, an extreme right splinter party, the Occitan movement as a whole is oriented to the political left. The French economy is far from being stable and strikes are very frequent. Socialist and Communist groups strike against "exploitation of the labor force by big business," farmers protest against imposed price schedules and endeavors to concentrate farm property, meant to make French agriculture more competitive on the European market-place. In both areas the capitalist profit motive as the only guiding principle is violently opposed by leftist ideologists.

The Occitanist rephrases these slogans in his own terms, such as " internal colonialism," "racism against Southerners." He rejects the alleged image of himself as a folklore figure. Tourism itself becomes suspect and is viewed as a degrading business (Provence's "Nouvelle Floride" is referred to as " le bronze-cul de l'Europe industrielle"). Both ingredients blend into an explosive mixture which might affect someday the future of the nation.

A first explosion occurred in 1961 in Decazeville (Aveyron), a compound of mines and metal industry. Its work force struck against the threat to shut down the plant and found popular support for their demands. The strike was picked up by the Occitan activists and grew into a widespread protest. This was the first time that Lafont's " regional revolution" (book title) was associated with the social struggle.

Another test case, which is still unresolved, seems to be the Larzac Affair. The Larzac Camp is a military camp on a large plateau fifty miles northwest of Montpellier in the département of Aveyron. In 1970 the government announced its plans to expand the camp and to relocate 103 farmers whose fields, pasture lands and villages were in the way. All sorts of protest actions were started and they are now finding wide public support. In the spring of 1972, some sixty head of sheep grazed demonstratively on the lawn under the Eiffel Tower which is "pelouse interdite." In January 1973, the Larzac farmers staged a "long march to Paris" and drove their tractors all the way up to the capital. They gained nation-wide attention to their problem. A public relations campaign is presently under way, money is raised for it by sympathizing committees everywhere in France. In August 1974, a sort of harvest celebration was held on the Larzac plateau. It drew between 100,000 and 200,000 participants, delegates from foreign countries and even the presence of Socialist leader François Mitterand, who was hurt by one rock-throwing protester. This whole affair is now creating considerable embarrassment for the government which cannot move either way without losing face or becoming extremely unpopular. There is also opposition to several projects of national parks; one at least is in operation in the Cevennes. The charges brought against the government in both cases are similar: systematic destruction of the livelihood of small farmers and local industries in order to create a vacation hinterland for the big industrial cities of the North.

Instead, the Socialist-Occitan movement advocates the conservation of natural resources, or at least their use for the sole benefit of the "owners." They wish to bar the sellout of real estate to northern and foreign money, and to develop their own industrial capacities. Their model is non-committed decolonized Algeria with its moderately Socialist economic system. Some go as far as claiming political independence; the majority, however, would settle for cultural and economic autonomy within the French nation.

As teachers of French culture and civilization, I think we owe it to our students to update our civilization programs with regard to these minority activities. As far as I can see, our textbooks do not yet account for them. We have to obtain this information ourselves by just going there and listening to the people or by sending for some of the written material. Occitan or French texts concerning the Occitan question rarely give an objective assessment of the situation. Most of them are written by militant advocates of the movement and are necessarily biased. But they lead the reader into the heart of the political and cultural life of the nation and thus enable us to give an authentic account of what's going on in France.

It is with this lack of information in mind that I compiled the attached annotated bibliography which, far from being complete, could serve as a first introduction to this matter.

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ADDENDUM

Since this paper was written, I have found one elementary French reader which does contain one chapter on the Occitan question. The reference is: L.L. Curcio, M.E. Galanti, C. Hughes, E.W. Williamson, Nouveau Visage du monde français (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1975).

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CULTURE THROUGH HUMOR IN THE CLASSROOM

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"La Culture est ce qui existe quand on a oublié tout ce qu'on avait appris". Selma Lagerlöf.[1]

All French people remember the paradoxical definition that "culture is what remains when one has forgotten everything." They all forgot that Selma Lagerlöf said it; but the phrase has become a proverb in French and sticks in everyone's mind for its humorous connotation. It is through humor that this sentence seems engraved in our brain because it rings so true and à propos. Facts can be retained for a certain time, but very soon a selection takes place and the memory discards non-essential factors. We do not forget, however, an eccentric professor, a funny event, a striking happening, or a good joke. Why not use the very effective tool of humor to make our students of culture and civilization remember what they should know about the traditions and beliefs, manners and institutions of a culture? How can we bring about humor in the classroom?

Firstly, the teacher himself should outwardly be the embodiment of the culture which is to be taught. I do not mean that a teacher of French should be French; I mean that, when he walks in the classroom, the first week of class, he should bring with him an "aura" of Frenchness, a dépaysement that the student will remember as alien to his culture. The cultural shock should happen within the first minute of contact with the class. Greet the students with a Bonjour tout le monde not a casual "Hi," and introduce yourself in French. Shake hands with some of them, as you walk around the classroom for example. They will laugh at you and with you, as you repeat the procedure fifteen times. However, they will remember that French people shake hands at every chance they get. As Daninos says in Les Carnets du Major Thompson, France is the country of the handshake, though it was not invented there: "Les anglais ont appris au monde la façon de se tenir correctement à table. Mais ce sont les français qui mangent. Les Anglos-Saxons ont, de même, trouvé un nom très évocateur pour la poignée de main. Mais ce sont les français qui se la serrent."[2]

Shaking hands has meaningful connotations in French and the teacher can underline the nuances of the handshake with each student. A dry handshake , a warm handshake, a cold handshake, an overfriendly handshake, a slimy handshake, etc.... French people get a first impression of a person through the hand. The ideal hand is firm and soft, a friendly one but not overpowering. The refusal of shaking hands becomes an insult, an assertion of your opinions and beliefs. This long example on shaking hands illustrates what can be done in a funny overtone in class, with the seemingly most matter-of-fact gestures that we use. Gestures reveal from the outside and in a practical open way, what a culture is. Since

a culture course aims at making the students think of or about their own culture and accept the different behaviors of another culture, the study of gestures can be used the first few days as an insight into the civilization studied. In one of her talks, Ms. Jacqueline C. Elliot enhanced the use of automatic gestures[3] and reactions, stressing that French people count on their fingers in a different way than the Americans do, they knock at the door with one crooked finger, the palm away from the door. The hands rest on the table at dinner in full view (just in case. . .), the knife and fork remain in the same hand and never change from the right to the left side. The French start the days of the week with Monday. Milk in French conveys an idea of warm milk in a café au lait in the morning, not a glass of cold milk for lunch, etc. The list is endless. The students themselves will come up with examples of different uses, words, reactions, gestures and ways of life from their own experience or from what they have heard. Questions range from why are the French called "frogs" to what is a bidet; why a cochon in French does not mean a chauvinist pig, but a dirty old man; why is dinde a turkey and a silly girl too; why noir means inebriated and is not always beautiful; why filer à l'anglaise is to take the French leave. (The answer in the latter case is that you blame bad manners and diseases on any country but your own: a very simple self-defense mechanism true all over the world; a very easy way to find in a society who, at the time the expression was created, was the enemy.) All the words are funny to the students and the only successful way to deal with these questions is through the use of humor. Students humor you, or you humor them, but it always remains kind.

Robert Escarpit in Humor differentiates between irony and humor by saying "L'humor exclut la méchanceté." In other words, with irony you laugh at a person and with humor you laugh with a person. Irony and sarcasm have no place in the laughs you receive. Laughter between teacher and students builds an effective solidarity, everything is taken with a grain of salt and a twinkling of the eye. What derives from humor in the classroom is the students' prise de conscience towards another culture, a lucidity on another civilization, and a social attitude that rejects their own culture as the best. Their culture becomes different from the culture studied with no qualitative judgment added to it. (They will accept their allegiance to their own culture, but this is no handicap). For, as Escarpit mentions, "c'est cette conscience naturelle, intuitive, mais lucide et délibérément souriante de son propre personnage caractériel au milieu d'autres personnages."[4]

A culture course seems one of the most flexible courses that exists in the curriculum but, at the same time, one of the most difficult, as it encompasses such varied and vague subject matters. Many a teacher gets lost in the vast amount of material available. If one uses a cultural reader, the texts tend to be boring and lack the challenge the students expect. Some teachers make the mistake of using the culture class as a substitute for a literature or a survey class. The teacher should always bear in mind that the culture class should familiarize

the students with the mores of the culture studied, and prepare them as if they were going to France the next day. Most of the students will not have to struggle very much with the language per se, but rather with what the language implies. The emphasis on the psychological and social content of words should be made evident. Everyday language, idiomatic expressions and slang should be insisted upon at length. An easy way to acquaint the student with everyday language is in the choice of a modern detective story. Any book by Simenon with his hero Maigret, or Arsène Lupin by Maurice Leblanc is a mine of vocabulary used by the people of France that travellers could hear in the streets of Paris. Arsène Lupin, Papillon or Maigret, have a very French type of humor, embodying everyday Frenchmen with superman qualities hidden under their very plebeian outlook. Moreover, they differ greatly from their Anglo-Saxon counterparts; a Sherlock Holmes or a New York or Chicago Godfather would of course, appear as funny in France as Marlon Brando speaking French. Students perceive these cultural differences in the twinkling of an eye.

Now, if some teachers feel some reluctance about using detective stories, they would not object to a much more intellectual type of humor, Raymond Queneau's humor for example. The adventures of the little girl Zazie, in Zazie dans le Métro,[5] are hilarious; she epitomizes the free-spirited, carefree and clever titi Parisien, and her character comes from a very long tradition in France. Moreover, this book makes for striking comparisons between French and American children, the way they are brought up, the way they behave. In Exercices de style[6] Raymond Queneau uses - humor that appeals to the intellect. Though the style is slightly harder than in Zazie, the approach is much easier. The whole book consists of one story in a Paris bus at rush hour; the story is repeated at least a hundred times, each time in a different way. The versatile humor of Queneau is unmatched and unprecedented in any kind of literature. He uses different levels of French, from a telegraphic style, to a literary and philosophic tone, from prose to the ode and the sonnet, from the auditive to the visual, from the present tense to the imparfait and passé simple, from the slangish to the verbose and pompous style. (The book can be used in numerous ways and the response of my students in class is very good.)

Slang expressions are always assimilated very quickly by the students, eager as they are to overcome the challenge of this type of vocabulary. Very often, with slang, you will have to use a reverse process and try to stop the students from using too many slang words, at least in a written paper, and emphasize quite clearly the context in which the expressions can be used. A very complete study of French idiomatic expressions came out in 1974: Expressions idiomatiques en Français vivant by Reine Cardaillac Kelly.[7] All French teachers will be delighted to find out that a text-book on idiomatic phrases organized by subject matter has finally been published. Students find these expressions very humorous and enjoy using them. My students rarely use the word "short" for a person, but say Elle est haute comme 3 pommes or the word "lazy" but prefer il a un poil dans la main, etc. The conversations in class become livelier and more entertaining, both for the students and the teacher, when interesting, funny,

and unusual words are introduced. (I use the word unusual, as they are strange for the students, because of their connotations, but they are commonplace expressions in the French language.)

In a culture class, the teacher will still have to struggle with the ability of the students to speak French. Most of them are already fairly fluent but special emphasis should be put upon the rapidity of speech, the flowing way of the French language, the liaisons or the links between words. If the students' vocabulary and accent are usually quite adequate, their comprehension and speaking abilities are hindered by the written words. It is then more than timely (if it has not been done before the first and second year) to put them completely at ease with the language and introduce tongue twisters which abound in the French language. They are very often in the form of questions and guessing games and present a good challenge and much laughter. Make them answer these questions for example:

Pourquoi ton thé t'a-t-il ôté ta toux?

Six scies scient six cyprès, combien six cent six scies scient-elles de cyprès?

Combien sont ces soucis-ci, Madame Sans-Souci?

Give them Prosper Merimée's famous dictation, in which all French people make mistakes, or a dictation of un marchand de foie [6] with the different meanings and spellings of fois, foi, and foie: only the context will tell if you speak of time, faith or liver, and students laugh when you explain that ma foi means "in good faith" or "in my opinion" and is not a complaint about one's liver (which is masculine) though a French liver is an organ that has its lettres de noblesse through the crise de foie. In the same manner, vert, ver, vers, verre, vair and their different spellings can bring funny comments with which to present to the students the example of Cinderella by the French XVII century fairytale writer Charles Perrault (What!? Cinderella and Mother Goose are French?). In the original tale, children had the idea of Cinderella wearing a small, soft, furry, white and gray slipper resembling mink (vair in French) that she leaves behind, and the American children, helped by Walt Disney, project in their minds a glass slipper that can break (verre). However, now the French children have adopted the idea of the glass slipper and the two versions still compete. This anecdote makes the students aware of the different spellings of [vɛʀ] and their consequences. You can then underline the importance of the context in words with the same sounds, not distinguishable orally. Most of the time the context is clear enough. In some other words, a grammatical clue, usually the feminine/masculine differentiation, triggers the French mind not to confuse the meanings, especially in words spelled exactly the same way. You can distribute to the students dittoed material with a list of identical words differing in meaning with the feminine/masculine change:

le vase (vase)	la vase (mud)
le voile (veil)	la voile (sail)
le garde (keeper)	la garde (guard)
le mousse (cabin boy)	la mousse (moss)[9]

Here the students can draw their own conclusions on the recurrence of masculine in nouns with persons. By reviewing the grammatical differences, the students will be able to improve their oral and written French, while still learning about culture and not being forced into straightforward grammatical drills.

The elements of gestures, idiomatic expression, everyday language and slang represent one small, though important, part of the necessary basic knowledge the students should acquire in the culture class. The other elements should encompass a contemporary, modern outlook as well as an overview of the landmarks of French history.

The students are interested in what is happening in France nowadays. In this aspect too, humor is the best method to reach the core of the question "what is Frenchness?" The Carnets du Major Thompson is a must in a culture class. The book is an extremely perceptive, highly entertaining introspection by Daninos, disguised as an English major discovering France and its mad, mad world, with empathy and the pseudo-objective English sense of humor. The clash between the Anglo-Saxon way of life and the French one allows for a hilarious confrontation. As soon as the students read the first chapter, they assume the Major's personality and travel through him during his fascinating exploration of Frenchness and are gradually won over by France, as is the Major. The humorous tone of the book enhances the fact that every French person thinks of himself as an homme d'esprit (here I would like to stress that esprit in French means wit, spirit, and mind. It can even mean organization and red tape in esprit de système. No wonder French people believe they are hommes d'esprit!). In the same way as they would agree they are hommes d'esprit, they would disagree on everything else. As Daninos says, "in this kingdom of subdivision, France is divided into forty-three million Frenchmen[10] and we could update the figures by adding to them seven more million divided French people. What is a frenchman for Daninos? "Un être qui est avant tout le contraire de ce que vous croyez."[11] The author, throughout the book, presents the French as a paradoxical race, an abyss of contradictions: "sceptiques, méfiants, parcimonieux, enthousiastes, confiants, généreux."[12] If you opened the brain of a Frenchman you would find, jokes Daninos, "dix-neuf ex-présidents du Conseil, trois danseuses des Folies-Bergère, une demi-boîte de camembert avancé."[13] When teaching culture, Daninos' Carnets gives information on history, geography, the ways of life (drinking, eating, driving, etc.), the political system and government, the administration and institutions, sports and travel. There is not one area that Daninos leaves untouched. The writer's tour de force resides in avoiding a presentation of types, and generalizations oppose themselves to other contrary generalizations and give a very balanced psychological portrait of the French. One

cannot find a single sentence where a French person does not recognize himself and does not laugh at himself. As for the students, they become enthused with the readings and gradually acquire a very good understanding of the French. They can add the pieces of information they gathered throughout the course, and finally piece together the different parts of the puzzle, even if, at the beginning, they did not seem to fit: Yes, French people are chauvinistic though openminded. They are xénophobes but their land is a "refuge for foreigners." They are petits bourgeois and grands seigneurs.[14] The vocabulary of Les Carnets does not present much difficulty for a third-year student. Each chapter can be studied and presented in class, by one or several students, in an oral report. The teacher can, then, supplement the presentation and explain the plays on words.

Plays on words are another facet of the culture through humor. Jokes reflect a particular culture and a specific view of the world. One can be completely fluent in a language and still not understand its humor. The newspaper "Le Canard Enchaîné" can bring to the students the newsworthy items with contemporary happenings and ever-changing references. The reading of comic books like Astérix chez les Bretons or Astérix en Corse differentiates between each individualism, each character, in a funny, lightspirited tone. The peasant, the Corsican, the Parisians and their accents, provide ample sources of discussion. Astérix can be used as a perfect transition between the study of modern culture, and the historical view of France.

When the modern outlook on French culture has been presented to the students, a historical background can be given. They had some glimpses of history in Les Carnets, Astérix, etc. A more complete approach can be started, always bearing in mind that humor is the stepping stone. As La Fontaine expresses it:

"Une morale nue apporte de l'ennui
Le conte fait passer la morale avec lui."

In the same manner --bare historical facts tend to be boring-- the humor of the telling makes the facts palatable. The book on French history by Bonifacio and Maréchal,[15] used in primary school, would be very good material at a university level. The book, published in 1954, used time and time again in France, seems very old-fashioned and the history is presented to the French children with a fairy tale-like quality. Our university students find it very funny because of its biased and over-idealistic presentation. But culturally, French children are fed that kind of history. The students should first know this aspect and then acquire a more objective and historical perspective when the teacher discusses and destroys some elements of the text. The students have to go mentally, as do the French, from the very idealistic history studied in primary school, to the more real and adequate history of the secondary school. Both traditional and modern approaches collide into a French memory: on the one hand, Joan of Arc is the savior

of France, the wonderful little peasant called by God to save king and kingdom and, on the other hand, a very normal person pushed by circumstances and used by ambitious men as a pawn for their political aims.

Another book which can be used for the study of history is the version of French history in the style of "Ten-Sixty-Six and All That." It is history in a funny unrealistic light, presented by a humorist who plays with his own memories of history and laughs at his own romanticism: Qui a Cassé le Vase de Soisson?"[16]

The way a culture and a people laugh is widely represented, of course, in literature; therefore literature cannot be avoided, though I previously warned teachers not to turn the culture course into a survey or literature course. The presentation or use of a good selection of humorous texts will often attract students who would otherwise be turned off by literature. Students very often equate literature with boredom and gloom. So before entering a literature class, they will have experienced the culture-through-humor class, and will have acquired a very novel view of literature: literature as an expression of farce, comedy, sarcasm, jollity, gaiety, and humor --in a nutshell, literature as an expression of joy. And it will be much easier for them to later tackle what we call, unfairly, "serious literature." A very good anthology of French humor was published in textbook form entitled Anthologie d'Humor Français,[17] which presents excerpts from La Farce du Cuvier and Rabelais, through La Fontaine's Fables, Moliére's Tartuffe, a fairy tale by Perrault, Voltaire's Candide, etc. to the more modern, Daudet, Feydeau and Prévert. A number of other pertinent works and extracts can be provided by the teacher: Cyrano de Bergerac's famous tirade on the nose, Fanny by Pagnol or Boris Vian's short stories Les Fourmis[18] can be included.

In conclusion, the study of culture, through the point of view of humor, seems all encompassing: humor in the attitude of the teacher and the students, as well as humor in the material presented. It allows the teacher to cover the use of gestures and mannerisms, language and style, modern ways of life and historical background, plays on words and literary trends in humor. And if there is anything less humorous than writing about humor, it is a French class that lacks humor, and a teacher who is humorless.

NOTES

1 Lagerlöf, Selma, Swedish writer (1858-1940) who was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1909. This quotation is often attributed to various Frenchmen and not to the Swedish woman-writer.

2 Daninos, Pierre, Les Carnets du Major Thompson, découverte de la France et des Français, (Paris: Le Livre de Poche, 1954; 2nd ed., 1973) p. 60.

[3] Ms. Jacqueline C. Elliot, University of Tennessee, at a conference in Lincoln City, Ore., Oct. 1974.

[4] Escarpit, Robert, L'Humour (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, collection "Que Sais-Je?", 1st ed., 1960; 4th ed., 1972).

For additional readings on humor see:

--Bergson, Henri, Le Rire, essai sur la signification du comique, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1924, 1940).

--Jankelevitch, Vladimir, L'Ironie (Paris: Flammarion, Nouvelle Bibliothèque Scientifique, 1964).

[5] Queneau, Raymond, Zazie dans le Métro (Paris: ed. Gallimard, 1954).

[6] Queneau, Raymond, Exercices de Style (Paris: ed. Gallimard, 1947).

[7] Cardaillac-Kelly, Reine, Expressions idiomatiques en Français vivant (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1974).

[8] "Il était une fois, un marchand de foie, qui vendait du foie, dans la ville de Foix. Il me dit, ma foi, c'est la première fois que je vends du foie, dans la ville de Foix."

[9] Du Mont, Francis M.V. French Grammar --College Outline Series (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc. 1941; 2nd ed., 1950).

[10] Daninos, Pierre, Les Carnets du Major Thompson, p. 47.

[11] Ibid., p. 22.

[12] Ibid., p. 238.

[13] Ibid., p. 18.

[14] Ibid., p. 238.

[15] Bonifacio, A. and Maréchal, P., Histoire de France (Paris: Classiques Hachette, 1954).

[16] Bonheur, Gaston, Qui a Cassé le Vase de Soissons? L'album de famille de tous les Français (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1963).

[17] Mankin, Paul. and Azogy, Alex. Anthologie d'Humour Français (Glenview, Illinois: Scott, Foresman & Co., 1971).

[18] Vian, Boris, Les Fourmis, (Paris: Union Générale d'Editions, coll. 10-18, 1968 ed. 624, 1974).

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THE FOR ENGLISH SPEAKERS TORTUOUS AND DIFFICULT TO LEARN PRENOMINAL RELATIVE MODIFIER IN GERMAN: A MEANS OF ACQUIRING GRAMMAR, IDIOM, AND STYLE?

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How to teach grammatical structure systematically beyond the level of "basic grammar" continues to remain a serious problem for both the teachers of foreign languages and for the students who are dependent upon formal instruction for increasing their capacity to use the language. Yet in the absence of a systematic program for acquiring the active use of a greater variety and complexity of grammatical structures, the very means of stylistic variation and expressive power, students will inevitably continue to overuse grammatical patterns of the target language that have obvious counterparts in English, and continue to underuse patterns markedly characteristic of the language they are trying to learn.

The prenominal relative construction in German, while not a compulsory grammatical feature of the language, is a stylistic means of expression which native speakers use readily in non-casual speech and writing; that is, where attention is given to eloquence, precision, persuasive expression, and other characteristics of careful language use. I should like to propose that teaching the active use of this construction at the intermediate level of German study may be an effective means of helping students to develop the capacity to speak and write, not merely without grammatical error, but in a syntactical mode of expression more uniquely characteristic of the German as opposed to the English idiom. I would suggest further that acquiring the ability to use this particular construction may reinforce and build upon the learner's "Sprachgefühl" for German as a language which, in contrast to English, often does not reveal the most important part until the end, as Mark Twain suggested once with such satirical eloquence.[1]

The prenominal relative modifier construction, henceforth abbreviated as PREM, has suffered considerably so far from multiple labeling and meagre analysis. It would be no surprise if the following list of labels were not exhaustive: the extended modifier construction, the extended adjective construction, the adjectival modifier construction, the particpal modifier, incapsulation, a further-derived complex nominal modifier, and the compounding disease--the last by Mark Twain, who, with amazing intuitive perspicacity, seemed to view it as a kind of symptom similar to long compound nouns.[2]

The bane of those who would learn to read complex German prose, the construction is often treated by textbook writers as a necessary evil which must be analysed step by step in order to achieve decipherment. But even intermediate grammars which would develop all four language skills give the PREM a cursory, back-shelf treatment, teaching it either for recognition knowledge, or inviting token activization

through a brief exercise designed to produce it from relative clauses. Little attention is devoted to the question of what kinds of relative clauses may be so transformed, what English equivalents of PREM there are--both grammatically and stylistically--what its expressive properties might be, and under what stylistic conditions it may appropriately be used. Further, it is often misrepresented stylistically as being stilted, ungainly, and ludicrous at worst, and a tool of technical writing at best.

In what follows, I shall attempt to sketch a plausible way of presenting PREM to students, so that they may begin to use it actively in their own writing, and to acquire it as a part of their developing native speaker's competence in German. In discussing the grammatical properties of PREM, especially as contrasted with English, I hope to bring out, rather than play down, the complexity of a construction that has yet to be studied in any considerable grammatical detail.

Professional literature on the subject of the grammatical structure of PREM is scattered. Motsch's monograph, Syntax des deutschen Adjektivs,[3] treats it hardly at all, and König's work, Adjectival Constructions in English and German: A Contrastive Analysis,[4] which offers perhaps the most concentrated discussion to date, is also a partial treatment. König does not take up in any detail, for instance, the general question of precisely what kinds of sentential elements are preposable in German, but not in English; nor does he demonstrate explicitly what Keenan and Comrie have shown elsewhere,[5] namely that only the subjects of relative clauses can relativize prenominally. Indeed, he makes the rather misleading statement that ". . . almost any relative clause may be preposed in German."[6] Anyone who has become involved in examining the structural features of PREMs would have to agree with König, however, that "A fully explicit, detailed and adequate account . . . is beyond our reach at present since far too little is known about this area of syntax."[7]

It is nevertheless possible at present to revise the inadequate treatment and misleading statements which still predominate in German language textbooks. Of the three most widespread conceptions of what characterizes a PREM in German--namely that it is "extended," almost exclusively "participial," and complex--only the last seems truly characteristic, and then mainly in a sense relative to the grammatical structure of English. That is, modifying elements which can be preposed in German, but not in English, might be called "complex." The examples in 1) below suggest that PREMs of just one or two words are not uncommon:

1) die aufgestellte Behauptung — die sich einschreibenden Studenten
   die zurückgebrachten Schier — die hungrig werdenden Kinder
   die rausgeschmissene Katze — die ihn ausschimpfende Verkäuferin

The fact that longer instances of the construction occur frequently should not distract from the fact that short ones are also generated freely by native speakers. The examples in 2), which illustrate the use of non-participial relative modifiers, are also by no means atypical.

2) das viel zu weiche Brot
ein uns interessantes Thema
der noch kranke Chef
das in der Mitte völlig leere Zimmer

All of the examples above exhibit a type of relativization that is handled differently by the grammar of English. The examples in 3) reveal a comparable strategy for relativization in both languages, however. The examples suggest also that to relate the PREM in German to a relative clause in English, and say no more, is to simplify in a seriously misleading way.

3) der auf dem Rasen sitzende Mensch - the person sitting on the grass
die den Saal aufräumenden Männer - the men cleaning up the hall
der von der Kugel getroffene Student - the student hit by the bullet

German language textbooks at the first and second year level give extensive explanation and illustration of relatively simple grammatical material. Why should the presentation of grammar become less adequate when the grammatical features themselves become structurally more complex? At the intermediate and advanced levels of language instruction, there is no immediately apparent reason why the explanations cannot in fact become even more sophisticated, deepening the students' intellectual conception of the language, as well as their competence.

The examples in 3) offer a good point of departure for comparing the relativization process in English and German beyond the framework of the relative clause itself. The grammars of both languages provide for the relative clause reduction, with certain restrictions not yet fully known. The examples in 3) show the product of relative clause reduction in both languages, the sole difference being that the reduced unit has been preposed in German.

A further step in introducing the German PREM may be to show that a relative clause can be reduced and nominalized only if its subject is identical with the head of the embedding noun phrase.

4) diese Katze, die ihnen schon lange gehört →
diese ihnen schon lange gehörende Katze
diese Katze, der ich jeden Tag etwas Milch gebe →
*diese jeden Tag von mir etwas Milch gegebene Katze

As Keenan and Comrie have demonstrated, however, some oblique case nouns in relative clauses may be promoted to subjects, and thereby become candidates for reduction and prenominalization. In illustrating two types of subject-promotion known to be possible in German, I shall demonstrate also the process of PREM derivation, which could be utilized as an instructional model and serve also as exercise material. An oblique case noun may be promoted to subject either from the object of most transitive verbs (5a), or from a prepositional object via the introduction of a transitivizing verb (5b).

5a) die Mitglieder, die wir gestern schon abgeholt haben →
(passive transformation) die Mitglieder, die von uns gestern schon abgeholt worden sind →.
(RC reduction transformation) die Mitglieder, von uns gestern schon abgeholt →
(preposing transformation) die von uns gestern schon abgeholten Mitglieder

5b) Der Berg, auf den so viele stiegen →
(transitivizing T) Der Berg, den so viele bestiegen →
(passive T) Der Berg, der von so vielen bestiegen wurde →
(RC reduction T) Der Berg, von so vielen bestiegen →
(preposing T) Der von so vielen bestiegene Berg

The elements deleted by the RC-reduction transformation are the relative pronoun and all auxiliary and copular verb forms. 6) is an example of the latter.

6) Der Kuchen, der zum Essen schon fertig ist →
(RC reduction T) Der Kuchen, zum Essen schon fertig →
(preposing T) Der zum Essen schon fertige Kuchen

It should be gratifying for teachers and learners alike to know that the truncated relative clause is preposed, immediately in front of the head noun, intact, i.e., without any change in word order. As can be seen from the examples, one morphological change is necessary: the final element in the preposed string receives the attributive adjective ending congruent with what has become its embedding or matrix noun phrase.

It may be worth noting here that reduced relative clauses in German, although nearly always preposed, need not be. A further though rarer stylistic option can be seen in the product of RC-reduction in examples 5a-6. This construction presents another grammatical, though clearly not stylistic, parallel with English, except that the German counterparts seem to be unambiguously non-restrictive.

Turning for a moment to matters of style, I would hazard that the post-posed relative modifier in English has no more of an upper limit on length than does its pre-posed German equivalent:

7) The noun phrase longest by far in my experience and incidentally also attested to by a colleague of mine
Die aus meiner Erfahrung bei weitem längste und übrigens auch von einem Kollegen von mir bezeugte Nominalphrase

It is important to emphasize, however, that the post-posed relative modifier in English is common in everyday conversation, whereas the German PREM is cultivated by native speakers primarily in more formal speech and a variety of writing styles.

8) the dog running down the street
the woman wrinkling her brow
the kid throwing away the newspaper

Once this caveat has been issued, however, examples such as those above can be used as a grammatical exercise to show the fundamental similarity, as well as the differences, between the two languages.

An hypothesis widely held by generative-transformational grammarians currently is that all attributive adjectives are derived transformationally from relative clauses.[8] Hence one could ask whether it is misleading not to use the term PREM for all attributive modifiers. The designation seems fully justified, however, when one considers the distinction between grammar and style. From the point of view of students' competence, both in their native language and in the related language of German, the deeply underlying transformations that move the predicate adjective of the source relative clause to either the attributive position, or the predicate position in a declarative sentence, is to all intents and purposes obligatory. The formation of a PREM, on the other hand, can be observed easily in surface structure transformations which are clearly optional, and hence a matter of stylistic choice.

Another possible inroad into the problem of activating PREM can only be sketched here. König, who was mentioned earlier, gives considerable attention to a relatively uncommon, yet very revealing example of one type of PREM in English (for we do indeed have them): the compound relative modifier. It is instructive to think of some of his examples in the light of German.

9) a fast-running man
earthquake-plagued countries
government-owned housing
a home-loving person

This appears to be a grammatical device in English, though a highly restricted one, for preposing some sentential elements that are readily preposable in German. König points out that in English "certain modifiers must apparently undergo various compounding processes before they can be preposed."[9] Such compounds do incorporate covertly syntactical relations which German accommodates prenominally in overt syntactic form, e.g., through the use of fully inflected and modified nouns in oblique cases. They are clearly more limited than their German counterparts, however, in that they can express no more than one type of syntactical relationship at a time, whereas a PREM in German may express several at once, e.g., die uns jeden Tag von unserem Zeitungsjungen vor die Tür gelegte Zeitung. Even the noun phrase produced recently by Mountain Bell Telephone contains no more than one such relationship: "the telephone company installed and maintained protective connecting device."[10]

This brings us to the important and by no means simple question of what kinds of sentential elements prepose freely in German, but not in English. There seems to be no restriction on nouns in oblique cases, including prepositional phrases, nor on pronouns, nor on different types of adverbs. It seems that temporal adverbs can be preposed in English to some extent.

10) the as yet unfinished text
the already worn out tune
the then departmental chairman

But in the area of temporal adverbs, these seem to be the exception rather than the rule in English. This is just one small area in need of research.

By concentrating on relatively short PREMs with relativized elements clearly not preposable in English, students should be able to generate orally relatively simple PREMs which contrast clearly with their English counterparts. Using any relative clause that can undergo the RC-reduction transformation, one could easily make up sentences for students to transform on the following pattern:

11) der Preis, der ihm angeboten wurde → er ihm angebotene Preis
ein Ergebnis, das für mich überraschend ist → ein für mich überraschendes Ergebnis
der Brief, der aus Lille zurückgelassen wurde → der aus Lille zurückgelassene Brief
die These, die schon eingehend besprochen worden ist → die schon eingehend besprochene These
das Hemd, das so herrlich aussieht → das so herrlich aussehende Hemd

In any serious presentation of PREM, the question of its stylistic propensities is worth touching upon, not least because of mis-

representation in the past. Under what conditions of written and spoken styles is it used by German speakers? Although we have little demonstrable knowledge about this question at present, it nevertheless seems possible to alter the false impression found, for example, in such works as the new, revised edition of Cochran's review grammar:[11] "The extended modifier is stylistically stuffy and may always be avoided in writing." For surely the PREM in German has an extraordinary expressive power which goes well beyond the usual stereotypeof its economy and precision in scientific writing. Yet even in the Duden Grammatik one finds, "Dies ist möglich, soweit die durch den Artikel und den Gliedkern gebildete Klammer nicht überlastet wird. Der gute Stilist mutet allerdings dieser Klammer nur wenig zu." This caveat is followed by a list of relativized noun phrases, no one of which is over five words in length. Yet it is the capacity of the PREM to develop tension and become full to the breaking point that can be one of its greatest assets, as one can observe in the final sentence of Kafka's "Der Geier": "Zurückfallend fühlte ich befreit, wie er in meinem alle Tiefen füllenden, alle Ufer überfliessendem Blut unrettbar ertrank." Since Kafka's prose style is often cited as a paradigm of clarity and simplicity, there can hardly be a more convincing refutation of the condemnations cited above. Indeed, a look at the first paragraph of "Die Verwandlung" reveals that two relatively complex PREMs occur in the first four sentences, and contribute to the expressive power of that opening passage.

A kind of exercise which may encourage students to increase their awareness of the creative stylistic potential of PREMs might consist in giving the students sentences of well-known writers, in which PREMs have been transformed back into relative clauses. The clauses could then be transformed back into the original by the students, e.g.,

12) (Kafka) Seine vielen Beine, die im Vergleich zu seinem sonstigen Umfang kläglich dünn waren, flimmerten ihm hilflos vor den Augen
→ "Seine vielen, im Vergleich zu seinem sonstigen Umfang kläglich dünnen Beine flimmerten ihm hilflos vor den Augen."

There are many problems of analysis not touched upon here, and which remain topics for future research. In the transformation which reduces the full relative clause, how does participialization take place, i.e., which participle is selected under what conditions? Under what conditions other than the one mentioned here must the reduction transformation be blocked altogether? What differences exist between the two languages in regard to the prenominalization of restrictive vs. non-restrictive relative clauses?

The current state of our knowledge is nevertheless such that meaningful exposition and exercise material can be developed now for use at the intermediate level. If it can be said that the goal of foreign language teaching is to help students acquire the native speakers grammar of the language they are learning, then it is most

assuredly our obligation to continue to guide students towards that competence systematically, beyond the level of first year grammar. A meaningful introduction to the prenominal relative modifier in German offers just one such possibility.

NOTES

[1] This theme runs through much of Twain's "The Awful German Language" in Tramps Abroad. The quotation referred to is "Whenever the literary German dives into a sentence, that's the last you're going to see of him till he emerges on the other side of the Atlantic with the verb in his mouth."

[2] Robert B. Lees, in "The Grammar of English Nominalizations", IJAL, 26, 3, Part II (1960) gives ample support for Twain's intuition that compound nouns and prenominal relative modifiers are structurally similar in their syntactical origins.

[3] Wolfgang Motsch, "Syntax des deutschen Adjektivs," Studia Grammatica III, (Berlin, 1966).

[4] Ekkehard König, Adjectival Constructions in English and German (Heidelberg, 1971).

[5] Edward Keenan and Bernard Comrie, "Noun Phrase Accessibility and Universal Grammar" (Forthcoming).

[6] König, p. 48.

[7] König, p. 36.

[8] König offers a thorough justification, pp. 24-26.

[9] König, p. 33.

[10] For this example I am indebted to my colleague Ward Powell, who commented also that we may not have a problem teaching PREMs to English speakers much longer.

[11] Cochran's German Review Grammar, 3rd edition, ed. Jonathan Conant, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: 1974), p. 86.

[12] Duden's Grammatik, Mannheim, (1959), p. 480.

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A MODEL FOR THE TEACHING OF ADVANCED SYNTAX IN A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

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0.1- Since the publication of Noam Chomsky's Syntactic Structures in 1957, it has become increasingly clear that the serious student of language, English or foreign, and especially the future language teacher must receive a solid training not only in theoretical, but also in applied syntax. Such a course should be offered at the advanced level and - the point can hardly be overemphasized - deal with the syntax of the language involved in a rigorously systematic way. The search for a systematic, yet practically applicable approach to the teaching of foreign language syntax is the topic of this paper. Its first part deals with basic objectives and desirable features, prominent among them the need for a coherent, didactically oriented theory. In the second part, such a theory or model is outlined. Illustrating examples are taken from French.

1. - The principal objectives of a syntax course in a foreign language would seem to be threefold. There is (1) the obvious "performance objective," the improvement of active and passive skills: both orally and in writing the student ought to be able (a) to recognize immediately and to interpret correctly all the major phrase and sentence structures of the target language; (b) to apply correctly and with ease frequently used phrase and sentence structures; and (c) to understand and handle choices between equivalent constructions and to appreciate the differences between major stylistic levels and the appropriateness of syntactic constructions according to the speech situation. Then there is what could be called (2) the "competence objective": the student ought to become fully aware of the distinctive characteristics of the target language, of the general principles that determine its functioning, and of major connections between phonological, morphological and syntactic phenomena. Finally, there is (3) a "tool objective": the student ought to learn how to analyze for himself all kinds of phrases and sentences that he may encounter in the language.

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In short, the syntax course should not only teach factual knowledge and improve skills. It should also teach system awareness, a method of analysis, and its own metalanguage. In the performance objective, the teaching of syntax differs radically from the scientific description of syntax; in the competence and tool objectives, however, this difference tends to disappear. It is this ambivalence in objectives and attitude which is largely responsible for the dilemma of pedagogical syntax vis-à-vis its scientific counterpart.

2.- In order to reach performance, competence and tool objectives, an advanced syntax course would have to be determined in content and method partially by scientific, partially by didactic criteria. The following features seem to be desirable above all:

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2.1 - As in any scientific study, there should be a coherent and consistent theory behind the approach. This theory should be made "transparent." The student should know what is being done, why it is being done and how it is being done.

2.2 - The analytical and descriptive apparatus should be simplified and made as easy to handle as possible. The balance between simplicity and inadequacy is difficult to achieve. It would seem permissible, in a pedagogically oriented approach to rely to some degree on that capacity which is impossible to describe scientifically, namely "common sense." A scientifically adequate definition for example may, for didactic purposes, be an "overdefinition," as is illustrated by generative-transformational grammar. The nearly total explicitness of all its rules and statements as well as the extremely tight interrelatedness of its "components" require a formidable apparatus of presentation, and the numerous intermediary steps absorb by themselves much of the student's learning power and concentration.

2.3 - The presentation of structures, rules, features, etc.should facilitate visualization and synopsis. Besides the type of symbols used, the decisive factor seems to be the degree of explicitness and of compactness: the larger the number of elements in any one formula, the more difficult it becomes to visualize it. The highly compact formula (such as it is used in generative-transformational grammars, for example) although desirable from a scientific point of view, is pedagogically speaking most often inopportune.

2.4 - Numerous examples are indispensable in the teaching/learning situation. Examples serve as linguistic data and as concrete illustrations of abstract rules and structures. Moreover, they can be utilized directly as teaching devices. The total information is communicated both through explanation and examples. Basically this is the justification why a pedagogical description can afford to be less explicit, less detailed, even less precise than a scientific one.[2]

2.5 - The main, though not exclusive, emphasis should be put on the structures and constructions as they actually occur in the language. The "surface structures" alone constitute the grammatically acceptable structures, and they are the ones the student has to recognize and produce. Pre-grammatical structures should be used only to elucidate a structure or process that otherwise would be incomprehensible. For example, a semantically defined "deep structure" helps to contrast a particular construction of the target language with the corresponding one in the mother tongue[3] or to explain outright ambiguous structures.[4] But generally speaking, deep-structure analysis does little to improve the student's performance in the new language.[5] On the other hand, grammatical structures are sometimes best explained in terms of other equally grammatical structures from which they are derived.

2.6 - The pedagogical approach must inevitably be, to some degree, both normative and evaluative. The scientific ideal of exhaustiveness and value-free description cannot be adopted for the teaching/learning situation. In the eyes of many linguists and many teachers, too, this is the "original sin" of language teaching. But the fact is that neither the choice of subject matter to be taught nor the evaluation of effects produced by the structures selected can be defined by scientifically acceptable criteria. After all, what for example is "standard" French or Spanish? Or what is "style" in language?

3.- Thus the teaching of foreign language syntax at the advanced level is continuously torn between science and pedagogy. This dilemma has aroused much theoretical discussion, especially since attempts have been made to apply, strictly and rigorously, particular linguistic theories in the foreign language classroom. Such attempts do not easily convince those teachers who recognize the inherent ambivalence of their enterprise. On the other hand, a pêle-mêle approach that has no theory- or definable framework of its own is equally unsatisfactory, mainly because it dissolves what should emerge as a system, into an infinite number of unrelated details often contradicted by each other. Language teaching is certainly a pragmatic business but it should not be so totally pragmatic as to become methodologically incoherent.

The challenge is then to develop a pedagogically sound and scientifically justifiable model for syntax. In the following, the attempt will be made to outline very briefly such a "learner's model," specifically for French although it may also be applied to other languages. I have employed a somewhat cruder form of the model explained below in advanced French syntax classes. Clearly all details and problems have not yet been worked out. A particularly thorny question is for instance terminology. Many terms are associated so closely with certain theories that to use them with a different meaning and in another framework inevitably invites confusion and criticism. If, on the other hand, new terms were coined, one would only add to the Great Terminological Chaos. May the reader bear this in mind and consider, in true "functionalist" fashion, each term and concept within the over-all framework of the model.

4.0 - In addition to predominant reliance on surface structures, the model rests on four basic assumptions: first, syntax represents a system with subsystems and different levels of syntactic functioning; second, the analysis of syntax deals not only with static structures, but also with dynamic processes; third, all structures contain a nucleus of essential elements plus, possibly, additional, non-essential elements; and fourth,the different types of nuclei represent "elementary units" whose number is quite limited. The principal features of the model can be developed from these assumptions.

4.1 - The description of syntax can be divided into three major sections dealing with structures and processes on the phrase, sentence and discourse level. A convenient distinction can thus be made between

phrase syntax, sentence syntax and discourse syntax. It should however be understood that this does not necessarily represent the best progression in which the subject matter is actually introduced in a course. For it is the sentence, and not the phrase, that ought to be considered the student's basic "operating unit."

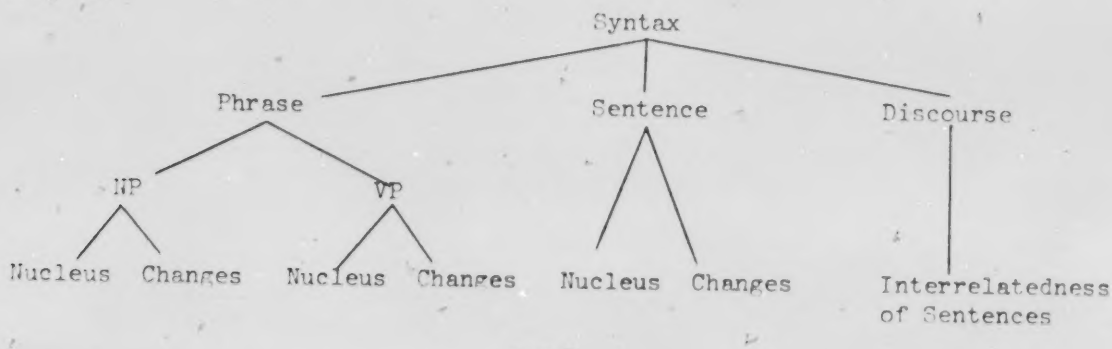
4.1.1- On the phrase level, one would study, for the noun phrase and for the verb phrase, the elementary phrase patterns and their constituent elements as well as the changes to which the nuclei can be subjected. The concept of "verb phrase" is problematic in that it can be defined either as consisting of only the verbal elements themselves and possible verb modifiers, or , following the practice of most linguists today, as consisting of these plus, possibly, one or more noun phrases. The disadvantage of the latter definition is, in my opionion, that NP and VP appear to be equivalent terms, but that in reality they are not. VP, in that definition, belongs to a logically higher category since it can include NP. The traditional term "predicate" could be used for this higher category.

4.1.2- On the sentence level, one would study the essential constituents of the sentence nucleus, the basic patterns of "elementary sentences" for declarative, interrogative and imperative utterances,[10] and the processes by which sentences can be expanded, reduced, integrated into other sentences, etc. Whereas a scientific definition of "sentence" has proven quite difficult, a didactic one could probably be as pragmatic as "an utterance constructed around a conjugated verb."

4.1.3- On the discourse level, one would study the various ways sentences are related to each other to form larger units of speech. This level has been seriously neglected both in pedagogical and in scientific syntax, although in many languages, among them French, the cohesion of supra-sentence units is very important. Discourse syntax could also be used as a transition towards text analysis in that certain supra-sentence structures could be linked to problems of stylistics and literary technique.

A tree-diagram summarizes the three branches of syntax and the general topics they deal with:

(Fig. 1)



4.2- The pedagogically most appropriate method to teach and explain syntactic structures and processes would seem to be a description in terms of syntactic function. "Function" is a relational term that implies an operational, dynamic relationship between a part and a whole. For a syntactic analysis that aims at surface structures, "function" is defined above all formally. The criterion of meaning will however be used in an auxiliary fashion, for example: "denotational meaning" for the classification of certain modifiers, or "connotational meaning" for an evaluation of the effects of denotationally equivalent constructions.

Seven basic syntactic functions seem to be all that is needed for an adequate explanation of syntax. They can be subcategorized into primary functions (subject, verb, complement), secondary fuctions (modifiers of nominals, verbs and sentences) and tertiary functions (connnectors).

4.2.1- The Subject (S) is that element which determines the grammatical shape of the verb with respect to person and number. It is not to be confused with the semantically defined "agent," as is illustrated by sentences like "il existe des animaux qui . . ." or "il fut mordu."

4.2.2- The Verb (V)is the center around which the sentence is constructed. I propose, as the most general functional categorization of verbs, the distinction between "autonomous" and "non-autonomous" verbs. The former are those verbs that can, together with the subject, form by themselves a syntactically complete sentence, for example "Marie nage." The latter require on the contrary one or two completing elements, as in "Jean aime Marie. Paul va à Paris. Charles lui donne la main. Mon frère s'en souvient." "Autonomous"and "non-autonomous" are thus more general terms than "transitive" and "intransitive." The French verb "donner," for example, is a transitive, "aller" an intransitive verb. Yet both are non-autonomous: "*Je donne. *Je vais" are not grammatical sentences in French.

4.2.3- The verb completing element represents the third primary function called "Complement" (C). It is a convenient umbrella for the more specific "direct object," "indirect object," "predicate noun," "predicate adjective" as well as for certain types of "prepositional phrase." The latter term denotes formal, not functional characteristics and should therefore not be used as a functional term.

S,V,C are essential, that is to say syntactically necessary constituents of the sentence nucleus.

A syntax course thus ought (a) to categorize verbs as to what types of complements they require, following perhaps the techniques developed by "dependence grammar,"[11] and on that basis (b) to formalize the different types of elementary sentences.

4.2.4- Modifiers of Nominals (NM) are those elements that serve to modify either nouns/pronouns (specifically: adjectives, noun, pronouns, sentences) or ajectives (specifically: adverbs, nouns, pronouns, sentences).

4.2.5- Modifiers of Verbs (VM) are adverbs or prepositional phrases.

4.2.6- "Sentences Modifiers"(SM). The term is not meant to be synonymous with "sentence modifier" in generative-transformational grammar although there seems to be some overlap. As it is used in our model, "sentence modifier" would denote most of what is usually classified in French grammar as "complément circonstanciel," a term which should be completely abandoned because it obfuscates the essential difference between primary and secondary functions by confusing prepositional complements with prepositional modifiers. Sentence modifiers are adverbs, noun phrases with or without prepositions, infinitives, or adverb clauses that modify the message contained in the sentence nucleus with respect to time, place, cause, intention, consequence, etc.[12]

The main criterion that permits us to differentiate between prepositional complements, verb modifiers and sentence modifiers is the degree of syntactical mobility: the SM can appear, in French, at the beginning, the end or, under certain circumstances, in the middle of the sentence, and are often separated by pauses from the sentence nucleus, for example: "Ce matin, j'ai vu un garçon. / J'ai vu un garçon, ce matin. / J'ai vu, ce matin, un garçon." Complements, on the contrary, have very little mobility. Any dislocation of a complement is usually clearly marked: "La maison, je la connais." Verb modifiers occur ordinarily in the immediate vicinity of the verb. But there seems to be something like a "verb modification by disjunction" as in "Rapidement il courut vers la sortie." This phenomenon and S V VM type sentences ("Il parle vite") can make the distinction between SM and VM problematical. In these cases, it would seem legitimate to have recourse to meaning as an additional criterion.

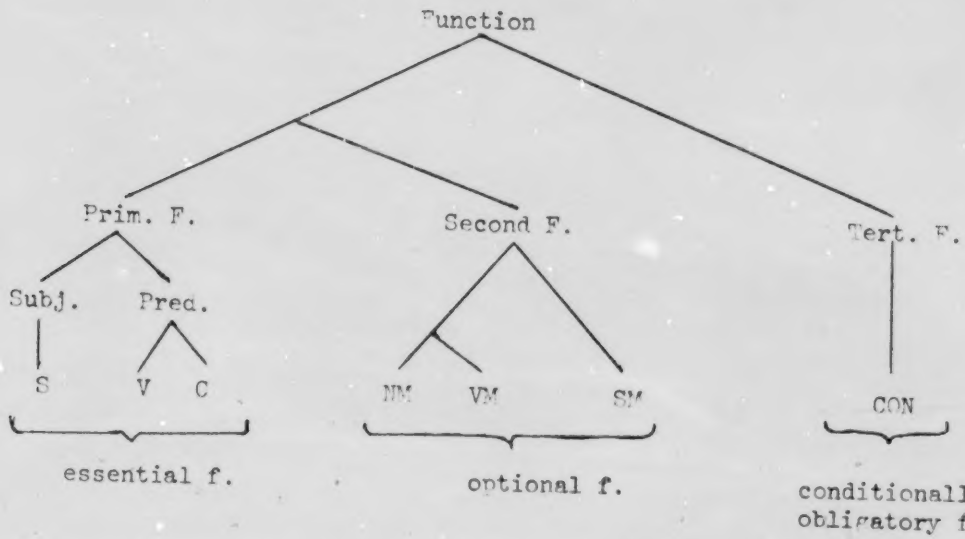
NM, VM, and SM are optional elements with regard to sentence or phrase.

4.2.7- Connectors (CON) link elements to each other and operate on the phrase, the sentence and the discourse level. They are conditionally obligatory, that is to say dependent on some process applied to two given units.

4.2.8- A large part of the teaching of foreign language syntax consists in specifying which elements can assume which functions, under which conditions and with what formal changes to the structures involved.

The diagram below may serve as a summary of the brief discussion of syntactical function:

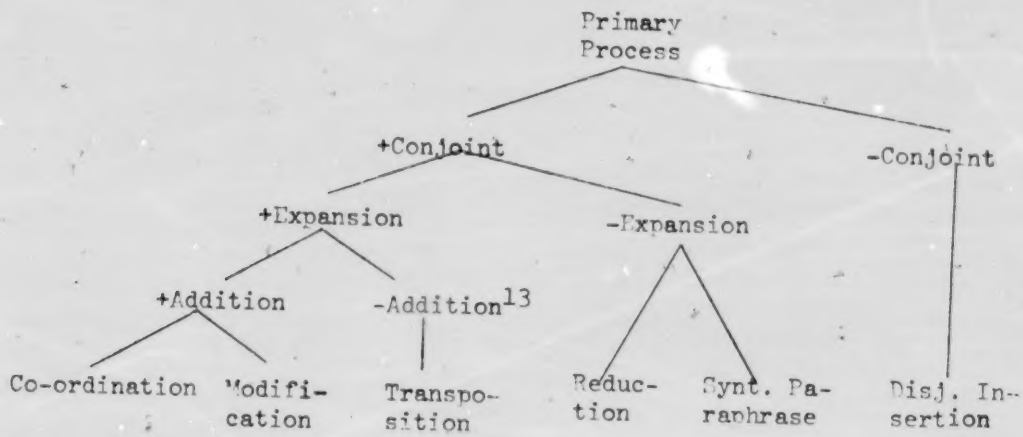
(Fig. 2)



4.3- As for syntactic processes, they, too, can be broadly divided into two classes, called tentatively primary and secondary processes. The primary processes represent, in a general way, the very few fundamental changes to which syntactic structures can be subjected. There seem to be only six such basic changes. They all operate on phrases and on sentences. The secondary processes are the more specific grammatical consequences that result from the primary processes, as will be explained more in detail below.

The principal relationships between the primary processes can be illustrated as follows:

(Fig. 3)



4.3.1- "Disjunctive Insertion" is a process by which a sentence or a phrase is inserted into another without being formally integrated into it. The lack of syntactical integration distinguishes this process from true embedding such as occurs in the transposition or in certain types of modification. Examples of disjunctive insertion: "le matin, dit-il, j'ai rencontré votre frère. Et il mourait - quel malheur! - des blessures reçues dans le duel. Elle avait - je me demande pourquoi - des larmes aux yeux." Constructions like "L'arrivée, ce jour-là, des maquisards surprit les gens du village" can probably also be explained, in a surface-structure analysis, as disjunctive insertions operating on the phrase level.

4.3.2- "Syntactive Paraphrase" changes a grammatical structure into another, denotationally equivalent grammatical structure. Examples of syntactic paraphrase, in French, are many emphatic constructions,[14] optional variations in word order in declarative sentences ("Peut-être il nous a vus → Peut-être nous a-t-il vus") or in relative clauses ("la voiture que Paul achètera → la voiture qu'achètera Paul"), the passive construction, etc.

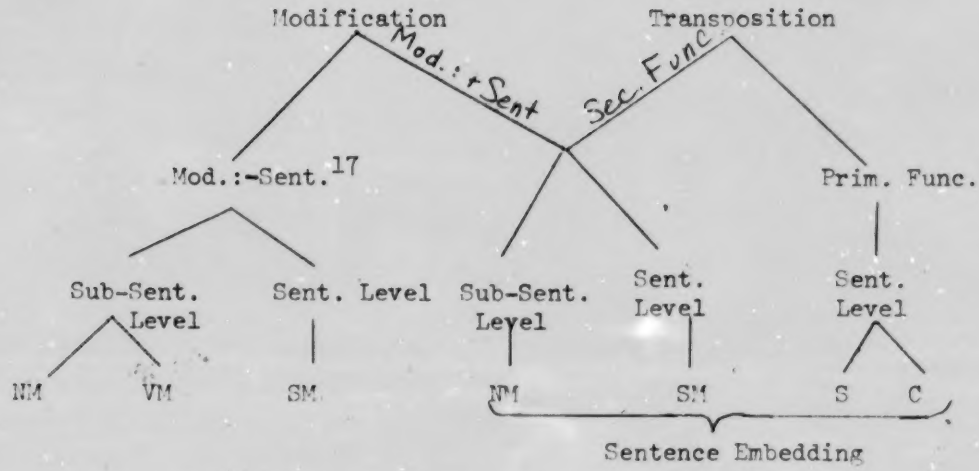
4.3.3- "Reduction" is the shortening of a structure for reasons of economy, emphasis, etc. In the actual speech situation it is a very frequent phenomenon. The reduced structure remains denotationally equivalent to the original structure, for example: "Venez au secours! → Au secours!","Marie est ici? Oui, Marie est ici → Oui, elle est ici", "Qui te l'a a dit? Ton frère me l'a dit. → Ton frère."

4.3.4- "Transposition"[15] denotes the process by which one of the four functions: S/C/NM/SM is attributed to a sentence itself. It is a key concept because it allows us to make the decisive step from simple to complex sentences. "SENT → S/C" produces noun clauses, "SENT → NM" adjective clauses, and "SENT →SM" adverb clauses. Infinitives, certain participles, "gérondifs" and constructions like the "pseudo-autonomous noun phrase" ("Les mains dans les poches, Jean l'attendait") also can best be explained as results of transpositions.[16]

4.3.5- "Modification" is of capital importance since it is probably the most frequently applied syntactic process of expansion. Nominal modifiers and verb modifiers expand the sentence indirectly, by expanding its parts (the phrases), whereas sentence modifiers expand it directly. Due to the great number of different possibilities of modification, modifiers are the principal means to achieve syntactic variety in speaking and writing. Teaching syntax will be to a large degree an exploration of the various modifiers, the conditions under which they can be employed, the changes that they require and their denotational and connotational values and effects.

Adjective and adverb clauses can be explained both as particular types of modifications or as transpositions, as is demonstrated in the diagram below:

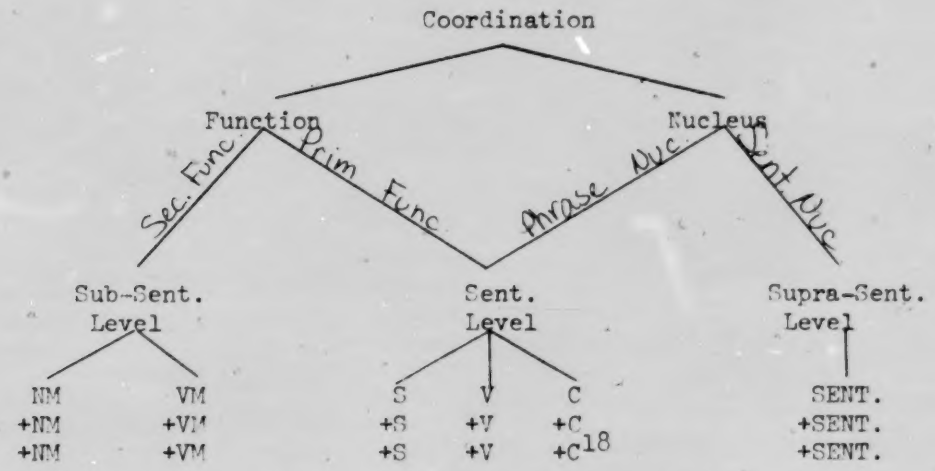
(Fig. 4)



4.3.6- "Co-ordination" finally would be that process by which elements, on the phrase or sentence level, that are syntactically equivalent and semantically not exclusive of each other, can be joined into larger units, for example "Jean, Marie et moi. . .," "une maison rouge et blanche. . .," "Il lit et écrit très bien," "Paul aime chanter, et Marie tricoter."

The different types of co-ordination are illustrated by a diagram:

(Fig. 5)



4.3.7- As explained above, the secondary processes are formal changes triggered by the primary process. They concern number and gender, position, mode, addition of connectors, deletion of elements, etc. For example, the embedding, in initial position, of a sentence as subject of another sentence requires, in French, besides the addition of the connector "que," the change "indicative → subjunctive": "Il est là. + Cela est certain → Qu'il soit là est certain". Or the addition of certain modfiers to a structure like "det. + A + N" requires a post-position of the expanded adjective: "un célèbre auteur + suffisamment → un auteur suffisamment célèbre."

5.- In this paper, I have argued that the teaching of advanced foreign language syntax has specific objectives regarding performance, competence and analytical ability. These call for an approach determined by scientific and didactic criteria. The particular model proposed here represents what I believe to be a coherent theory based on the concepts of "functions," "nucleus," "elementary unit," "syntactic process of change," and on the distinction between phrase, sentence and discourse syntax. The model may have to be amended to improve explanations or to adapt to an individual's personal style of teaching. I hope however that it will be of value in our continuing effort to improve the language proficiency of our students.

NOTES

1 Contrary to frequent practice today, a course in syntax theory should expose several theories, not just the one most fashionable at the time.

2 Eddy Roulet's criticism of the role of examples in didactic grammars is convincing only for really extreme cases; cf. Eddy Roulet, "Les modèles de grammaire et leurs applications à l'enseignement des langues vivantes," Le Français dans le Monde, 85 (déc. 71), p.8.

3 Cf. Robert J. Di Pietro, "Contrastive Analysis and the Notions of Deep and Surface Grammar," Report of the Nineteenth Annual Round Table Meeting on Linguistics and Language Studies, ed. James E. Alatis (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown Univ. Press, 1968), pp. 65-80. See also Robert J. Di Pietro, Language Structures in Contrast (Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House Publ., 1971), p. 25 ff.

4 Generative transformational grammars usually demonstrate their superiority by explaining ambiguous sentences. For a more critical view, cf. Jan F. Kooij, Ambiguity in Natural Language (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publ. Co., 1971).

5 The argument in favor of deep-structure analysis is usually quite convincing as regards "competence," especially an understanding of the mother-tongue; for example see Paul M. Postal, "Underlying and Superficial Linguistic Structure," Language and Learning, eds. Janet A.Emig et al. (New York - Chicago: Harcourt, Brace and World, Rev. Spec. Issue 1966), pp. 153-175. Or Peter S. Rosenbaum, "On the Role of Linguistics in the Teaching of English," ibid, pp. 176-194. It is unconvincing as regards the learning of a language. Cf. Bruce L. Liles, An Introductory Transformational Grammar (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall), p. 77.

6 Cf. Lutz Götze, "Moderne Grammatiktheorien und ihre Anwendugn im Unterricht," Beiträge zu den Sommerkursen 1972 (München Goethe Institut, 1972), p. 29.

7 Besides the articles or books on the subject quoted elsewhere in this paper, see for example Emile Genouvrier et Jean Peytard, Linguistique et Enseignement du Français (Paris: Larousse, 1970) esp. 3e Partie; Jean Dubois "Grammaire scientifique et grammaire pédagogique," Langue Française, 14 (Mai 1972). Julia S. Falk, Linguistics and Language. A Survey of Basic Concepts and Applications (Lexington, Mass. - Toronto: Xerox College Publ., 1973) esp. p. 251. David Arthur Wilkins, Linguistics in Language Teaching (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press), 1972.

8 For a recent example, see Günter Peuser, Eine Transformations-grammatik für den Französischunterricht. Grundlagen, Methodik, Didaktik (Freiburg: Verlag Rombach, 1973). Today few will disagree that the behavioristic-structuralist theory of a few years ago, when applied strictly, was as unconvincing in its refusal to do anything but "over-drill" individual patterns.

9 Cf. Zellig S. Harris, Papers in Structural and Transformational Linguistics, Formal Linguistics Series, Vol. 1 (Dordrecht: D. Reidel, Publ. Co., 1970), in particular chapter XXII, p. 383 ff., XXIII, p. 390 ff, and XXV, p. 472 ff. See also A.V. Isačenko, "Basic Syntactic Structures in Teaching," Linguistic Theories and their Application (Council for Cultural Cooperation of the Council of Europe, Strasbourg: AIDELA, 1967), pp. 91-103.

10 In our model, passive and emphatic sentences are considered products of "syntactic paraphrase."

11 For a compilation of articles by dependence grammar linguists from various countries, see Gerhard Helbig, (Hrsg.) Beiträge zur Valenz-theorie, Janua Linguarum, Series Minor 115 (Den Haag: Mouton, 1971). The classification of the subject as one of the "actants" of the verb proposed by Lucien Tesnière and others is unconvincing, and not only from a pedagogical point of view.

[12] The definition and classification of these "sentence modifiers" is often confusing. Andreas Koutsoudas, Writing Transformational Grammars: an Introduction (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), seems to consider them at times as SM in my sense (p. 17 or 25, diagrams), at other times as part of the predicate (p. 96). Jean-Claude Corbeil, Les Structures syntaxiques du français moderne. Les éléments fonctionnels dans la phrase (Paris: Klincksieck, 1968), p. 16 says in two successive sentences that the "circonstant" (1) "situates" the verb, and (2) determines the whole sentence. The classification offered by Harris, Papers, chapter VIII, p. 136 ff. seems unnecessarily complicated.

[13] Transposition (or embedding) expands, so to speak, by "blowing up" S, C, NM or SM. In that it differs from Modification and Coordination which add to a given element another element.

[14] See my paper "Syntactic Devices of Emphasis in Contemporary French," read in the General Linguistics Section, PNCFL 1975.

[15] The term has been proposed by Pierre Guiraud, La Syntaxe du français Que sais-je? 984, (Paris: P.U.F., 1970).

[16] An interesting question for the pedagogue is whether sentences in which a simple infinitive occurs as complement of a verb ("Il aime nager. Il décide de partir") should be treated as simple or complex sentences. There are arguments in favor of both positions.

[17] "Mod.: -Sent." signifies that the modifier is not a sentence.

[18] In a pedagogical syntax, it seems sufficient to explain function coordination through a kind of "Function + Function" rule rather than through the elaborate, cumbersome sentence transformation mechanism generally used in generative-transformational grammar.

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ORDER OF EMERGENCE OF CONTROL IN ENGLISH GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE IN NATIVE AND NON-NATIVE ENGLISH SPEAKING CHILDREN

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Transformational-generative theory spurred an interest in the developmental processes involved in the acquisition of language. It is, however, a weakness of the theory which has caused child language researchers to focus the bulk of their studies on very young children. Generally, these studies describe the emergence of grammar between the ages of eighteen months and four or five years, assuming that the child knows the grammar of his or her language by that age. Most people working with language development among school children have, until recently, had to do so without benefit of a currently viable theoretical framework. However, a new theoretical approach is being developed in linguistics which may prove useful to understanding later developmental processes. This new theoretical framework, generally called variation theory, is quantitatively based.[1] As such it provides a theoretical model for describing not just the order of the emergence of rules, which can be described qualitatively, but also the emergence of the order of grammatical control, which is primarily quantitative. The notion of control of grammar is not a new one to late language development researchers, but until variation theory was developed, it was not a concept that held any meaning within linguistic theory.

The research reported on in this paper is concerned with three questions. Are the processes of language development complete by the time children begin school? What is the order of the emergence of control of grammatical rules? And is that order similar for first and second language learners? The data used in the analysis come from a project centered at Michigan State University, which was to design an English curriculum for the children of migrant agricultural workers, most of whom spoke Spanish as a native language. There was an instructional program in use for young children, kindergarten through grade 3, but school personnel had come to realize that older children, even children whom some classroom teachers might describe as fluent in English, needed further English language instruction.

Designing a test that would select children to participate in this English program became a major part of this project. Although there were quite a few tests that could assess whether a child knew the rudiments of English, none were found that could show how much a grade 3 or grade 5 non-native English speaker knew about the grammar of English.

This brought up a rather interesting theoretical point: what does a native-speaking child of eight to eleven years of age know about his or her grammar? If we were to accept the generative grammarian's viewpoint, we would have to say almost everything. And yet this was neither

intuitively nor empirically satisfying. Any number of studies by educationists had shown continued language development during the early school years.[2] Carol Chomsky, too, had shown that the process of rule acquisition was still going on between the ages of five and ten.[3] Before we could measure how much the Chicano children knew, we would have to find out how much the native-speaking children knew.

A test was designed to cover a wide range of grammatical constructions, from the simple to the fairly complex. Included in the test were items on present and past tense, possessive pronouns, and comparative adjectives. In the more complex part of the test were tag questions in which the child was given a stimulus sentence and asked to provide the tag ending. The section on negation involved transforming affirmative sentences to negative and vice versa. There was also a section on sentence-combining in which the child was given two or three short sentences to combine into one. The last two sections, which are not included in this analysis, had the children telling a story about the pictures they were shown.

The test was given orally and individually to 120 children in the third and fifth grades in the Lansing, Michigan, public schools. It took approximately thirty to forty-five minutes to administer. In order to include the whole dialect spectrum of the Lansing school district, we chose Anglo, Black, and Chicano children from various socioeconomic backgrounds. (Only the results of the Anglo and Chicano children will be reported on here.) The teachers selected the children used in the sample. The only instruction given the teachers was that they should pick standard or nonstandard speakers; this was done to take advantage of the teacher's intuitive ability to pick out various dialect speakers and thereby to insure a wide range of speakers being included.

Before reporting the results of the study, I should say a few words about the way in which the data were analyzed. Variation theory makes use of implicational scaling. For example, a typical table might be the following. This table describes the use of 'r' by New York City speakers of English.

Table 1. 'r' Deletion in New York City Speech[4]

Styles:	Casual Speech	Careful Speech	Reading Style	Word Lists	Minimal Pairs
Classes:					
6-9	12.5	25.0	29.0	55.0	70.0
3-5	4.0	12.5	21.0	35.0	55.0
0-2	2.5	10.5	14.5	23.5	49.5

Implicational tables correlate linguistic features (here, styles, but phonological environments or grammatical categories are often used) with sociological information about the speakers (here, class, but age, sex, ethnicity, etc. can be used as well). These tables are well formed if for any point on the table the number to the left or right and the one directly below are smaller. The pattern that emerges is that, for this table, use of 'r' increases horizontally, that is, the more formal the style, the more the use of 'r'. Vertically, the implicational scale shows that within any style, the higher the socioeconomic class, the greater the use of 'r'. This table then reflects that 'r' in New York City is a socially evaluated linguistic feature. That it is a prestigious rather than stigmatized feature can be seen in two ways: 1) in each of the five styles, it is used most often by the highest socioeconomic class and 2) it is used most often in the most formal style by speakers in all classes.

These types of tables are judged for their scaleability. One method used is to measure scaleability according to the percentage of nondeviant cells. This table, for instance, is 100% scaleable. There is much debate about what scaleability percentage is necessary to make an implicational table acceptable. This issue has not yet been resolved.

There are generalizations that variationists make about implicational tables of this type. First of all, these are taken to be evidence of linguistic change in progress. It is predicted that, if the social situation remains the same, at some point in the future, New York City speakers will use 'r' categorically, that is, in all styles for all classes. Secondly, it is claimed that the tables depict earlier/later relationships. That is to say, people in the upper classes began to use 'r' earlier than those in the lower classes and that it was used in formal style earlier than in informal styles.

Although this discussion of implicational analysis represents an almost unforgivable oversimplification, it does give sufficient background for understanding the tables and generalizations which follow. Table 2 shows the native speakers' performance on the test. Reading across the top, we can see the grammatical sections of the test listed. The vertical dimension divides the native speakers according to teacher judgements. The numbers on the table represent the group performance in terms of percentage, i.e., the percent of the items in that section of the test answered according to the adult model. One of the cells has been circled; this indicates that this cell is deviant, that is, does not follow the principle of wellformedness. You will note that I have relaxed the wellformedness conditions here so that if the number to the left or directly below is within ± 3 points, the cell is considered nondeviant. To do otherwise would be to place too much importance on one or two percentage points, giving the illusion of very fine measurement when actually only a rather crude tool was used. To treat them differently would be like claiming to have measured an object with a micrometer when you had actually used your thumb.

Table 2. Native Speaker Performance

	Tags	Sentence Combining	Comp. Adj.	Nega-tion	Past Tense	Present Tense	Possess-ives
Grade 5/St	51.5	76.8	83.4	90.5	95.2	99.6	100
Grade 5/Nonst	42	66.6	78.3	88.5	92.9	93.9	99
Grade 3/St	37.3	72.2	78.3	86	93.5	95.9	93
Grade 3/Nonst	25.9	41.4	73.5	76	82.5	83.9	89

Scaleability 96%

Table 3. Non-native Speaker Performance

	Tags	Sentence Combining	Comp. Adj.	Past Tense	Present Tense	Nega-tion	Possess-ives
Grade 5/St	37.6	71.4	72.6	88.4	88.7	88	98
Grade 3/St	45	55	74.1	85.9	94.4	88.5	94
Grade 5/Nonst	21.4	40.1	59.2	72.1	71.6	79.5	87.5
Grade 3/Nonst	33	42.3	60	53.9	57	75	88

Scaleability 86%

Table 4. Native and Non-native Speaker Performance

	Tags	Sentence Combining	Comp. Adj.	Nega-tion	Past Tense	Present Tense	Possess-ives
Native/Gr. 5	42	71.7	80	89.5	94.0	96.5	99.5
Native/Gr. 3	31.2	56.8	75.9	81	88	89.9	91
Non-Nat/Gr. 5	29.5	55.7	65.9	83.7	80.2	80.1	92.7
Non-Nat/Gr. 3	39	48.6	67	81.7	69.9	75.7	91

Scaleability 89%

What then does the table show? First of all it shows that the order of control of the grammatical rules is as follows: possessives, present tense, past tense, negation, comparative adjectives, sentence combining, and, finally, tag questions. Control of a grammatical category is being defined as approximating 100% success in that category.

The vertical dimension ranks the groups in terms of relative control of the grammatical categories. The determining factor for control is age (fifth graders show more grammatical control in each category than third graders) and standard dialect speakers show more grammatical control than nonstandard speakers.

Table 3 depicts non-native speakers' grammatical control. The grammatical categories showing order of emergence of control differs in only one aspect: the non-native speakers are shown to control negation more than any other grammatical category except for possessive pronouns. On the vertical dimension, it is not age but whether the child has been judged a standard or nonstandard speaker that accounts for relative rank here. Within this subcategory, fifth graders show more grammatical control than third graders in almost all grammatical structures. There are instances, however, where third graders do better than fifth graders: in the tag questions and, for standard speakers, in the present tense.

Table 4 combines the data for native and non-native speakers. The standard/nonstandard distinction has been collapsed here so that the table can be more easily interpreted. Here we see three deviant cells, as was expected: the negation for the non-native speakers and the third and fifth grade reversal for non-native speakers in tag questions. The significant factor explaining control is whether or not the child is a native speaker and then whether or not the child is a fifth or third grader.

We are now in a position to answer the three questions we began with.

1) Are the processes of language development complete by the time children begin school? As noted earlier, one of the generalizations that can be made about implicational tables is that they are evidence of change in progress. Therefore, we can say that language development is ongoing during the ages investigated here. Claims which have been made by child language researchers to the effect that children have a rule for, say, tag question formation by age four or thereabouts in their grammars are unjustified according to our data.[5] The developmental process will be complete when control (approximately 100%) is reached in each grammatical category. Theoretically, this would mean when the adult model of the grammar had been acquired.

2) What is the order of the emergence of control of grammatical rules? As we have seen, another generalization that can be made about implicational tables concerns earlier/later relationships. On these tables, earlier/later can be thought of as emergence of control. That is to say, native speaking children exhibit control over possessives before present tense, present tense before past tense, and so on.

3) Is the order of the emergence of grammatical control similar for first and second language learners? By and large the answer is affirmative to this question. The only difference is that the non-

native speakers exhibited more control in negation relative to the other grammatical categories than did the native speakers.

It is one thing to describe and quite another to explain, as Chomsky so elegantly demonstrated years ago. There are many questions that remain to be answered here, some of which we can begin to form hypotheses about and some of which will need more research before any explanation can be attempted.

Let us take the linguistic question first: why do the grammatical categories arrange themselves in this manner? An hypothesis worth investigating is that simple grammatical forms are controlled before complex ones. How to determine complexity, however, is a difficult theoretical question. (See Brown and Hanlon for a not thoroughly successful attempt at elucidation.[6]) It has been suggested that in linguistic change involving the phonological system, the direction of change can be predicted on the basis of markedness. Can we devise some kind of syntactic marking theory? The fact that native and non-native speakers follow a very similar pattern of emergence of grammatical control may indicate that there is some underlying natural order.

In terms of the social correlates of the emergence of grammatical control, one cannot escape recognizing that age is an important factor. Can we say then that language development is largely a matter of maturation, an unfolding? We cannot give an unequivocal answer to this question. We still have to account for the fact that the standard/nonstandard variable also plays an important role in the acquisition of grammatical control. Before being able to offer any explanations here, we need to assure ourselves that no bias existed in the test itself or in the testing situation which allowed the standard dialect speakers to show greater grammatical control. We are only beginning to understand differences among American English dialect speakers and are, therefore, not in much of a position to make this determination.

That these questions can be posed is partly a result of having a theoretical framework that can provide models of linguistic change in progress. Hopefully, variation theory will encourage more linguists to look at later language development.

NOTES

1. Discussions of variation theory can be found in C-J. Bailey, Variation and Linguistic Theory (Arlington, Va.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1973) and in Wm. Labov, Sociolinguistic Patterns (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1972).

2. For example, see Kellog W. Hunt, Grammatical Structures Written at Three Grade Levels (Champaign, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English, 1965); Walter D. Loban, The Language of Elementary School Children (Champaign, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English, 1963); Roy C. O'Donnell, William J. Griffin, Raymond C. Norris, Syntax of Kindergarten and Elementary School Children (Champaign, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English, 1967); and Mildred Templin, Certain Language Skills in Children: Their Development and Interrelationships (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957).

3. Carol Chomsky, The Acquisition of Syntax in Children from 5 to 10 (Cambridge: The M.I.T. Press, 1969).

4. The table is taken from Labov's New York City study and is reprinted in Bailey, Variation and Linguistic Theory, p. 105.

5. Roger Brown, A First Language (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973).

6. Roger Brown and Camille Hanlon, "Derivational Complexity and Order of Acquisition in Child Speech," in Cognition and the Development of Language, ed. John R. Hayes (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1970).

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APPRENTISSAGE DE LA LECTURE A HAUTE VOIX D'UN TEXTE EN PROSE FRANCAISE

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FL007875

LE PROBLEME:

Nombreux sont les étrangers qui trouvent difficile la lecture d'un texte en prose même élémentaire, bien que, dans la conversation, leur prononciation soit tout à fait acceptable. La grande disparité entre l'orthographe française, qui date surtout du douzième siècle, et son interprétation orale contemporaine justifie même les nombreuses heures passées par les écoliers et lycéens français à apprendre à lire à haute voix. Cependant, aux Etats-Unis d'Amérique, où les étudiants anglophones ont encore davantage besoin de cet entraînement à cause de l'interférence des habitudes articulatoires, rythmiques et syllabiques, de la langue anglaise, le temps qui lui est consacré est insuffisant; les résultats sont loin d'être satisfaisants, même depuis que la compréhension et l'expression orales sont devenues les objectifs immédiats de la classe de français. En fait, il semblerait même que la lecture à haute voix d'un texte n'ait pas de place bien définie dans le programme d'études françaises. Faut-il l'intégrer dans l'enseignement de la langue parlée ou la rejeter dans celui de la langue écrite? La solution la plus facile consiste à l'ignorer ou à la dégrader, car elle "ne peut donner qu'une impression générale vague et sans grande valeur, sauf avec les étudiants très avancés." 1

En général, les phonéticiens ne s'y intéressent guère et il ne faut certainement pas compter sur les spécialistes de littérature ou même les grammairiens pour s'y attarder. Et pourtant elle est un excellent exercice d'apprentissage, de maintien et même de restauration de l'expression orale. De plus, tous ceux qui veulent lire en français une communication ou une conférence sur n'importe quel sujet ne peuvent s'en passer. C'est pourquoi nous leur offrons une méthode bien simple et employée avec beaucoup de succès depuis 1965 où elle naquit d'un travail en collaboration avec Pierre Léon dans un Institut NDEA organisé à Arcachon par Stowell C. Goding de l'Université du Massachusetts.

TEXTE CHOISI: CALIGULA (EXTRAIT) PAR ALBERT CAMUS

Caligula: Ce monde, tel qu'il est fait, n'est pas supportable. J'ai donc besoin de la lune, ou du bonheur, ou de l'immortalité, de quelque chose que soit dément peut-être, mais qui ne soit pas de ce monde.

Hélicon: C'est un raisonnement qui se tient. Mais en général, on ne peut pas le tenir jusqu'au bout.

Caligula: (se levant, mais avec la même simplicité): Tu n'en sais rien. C'est parce qu'on ne le tient jamais jusqu'au bout que rien n'est obtenu.

Mais il suffit peut-être de rester logique jusqu'à la fin. (Il regarde Hélicon.) Je sais aussi ce que tu penses. Que d'histoires pour la mort d'une femme! Mais ce n'est pas cela. Je crois me souvenir, il est vrai, qu'il y a quelques jours une femme que j'aimais est morte. Mais qu'est-ce que l'amour? Peu de chose. Cette mort n'est rien, je te le jure; elle est seulement le signe d'une vérité qui me rend la lune nécessaire. C'est une vérité toute simple et toute claire, un peu bête, mais difficile à découvrir et lourde à porter.

Hélicon: Et qu'est-ce donc que cette vérité ?

Caligula: (détourné, sur un ton neutre): Les hommes meurent et ils ne sont pas heureux.

Hélicon: (après un temps): Allons, Caïus, c'est une vérité dont on s'arrange très bien. Regarde autour de toi. Ce n'est pas cela qui les empêche de déjeuner.

Caligula: (avec un éclat soudain): Alors, c'est que tout autour de moi est mensonge et moi, je veux qu'on vive dans la vérité!

Une solution:

A. Lire attentivement le texte pour soi-même afin d'en comprendre la signification et décider le ton sur lequel il doit être dit. Le passage en question est une petite discussion philosophique entre Caligula et Hélicon. Caligula est irrité, il raisonne, puis s'emporte à la fin. Hélicon est plutôt calme, stoïque.

B. Déterminer les groupes de souffle préférés.
"Cette mort n'est rien,/ je te le jure;/ elle est seulement le signe d'une vérité/ qui me rend la lune nécessaire./ C'est une vérité toute simple et toute claire,/ un peu bête,/ mais difficile à découvrir et lourde à porter."/

C. Indiquer par des flèches la courbe générale de l'intonation à la fin de chaque groupe rythmique.

"Cette mort n'est rien, / je te le jure; / elle est seulement le signe d'une vérité / qui me rend la lune nécessaire./ C'est une vérité toute simple et toute claire, / un peu bête, / mais difficile à découvrir et lourde à porter." /

D. Indiquer les liaisons à faire ou à éviter.

1. Liaisons obligatoires
   - article + (adjectif) + nom : un éclat
   - pronom + (adverbe) + verbe : "rien n'est obtenu"(V_1 - V_2)
   - : qui les empêche (pr - V)
   - après "est" : c'est une vérité
   - mots outils monosyllabiques : mais en général
   - groupes figés : peut-être

2. Liaison interdite par le sens de la phrase:
"c'est que tout//autour de moi est mensonge...." où "autour de moi" est une incise.

E. Etudier les e muets.
Exceptions ou les e sont prononcés:

1. pour éviter un groupe de 3 consonnes: quelque chose
on ne le tient
2. pour éviter un groupe de 4 consonnes dont [l] ou [R] autour de moi
parce que la semi-voyelle [w] compte ici comme une semi-consonne.

3. pour éviter certains groupes de deux consonnes au début d'un mot phonétique: Regarde autour....

Donc dans le texte les [ə] prononcés sont soulignés et ceux non prononcés sont rayés.

"Ce monde, tel qu'il est fait, n'est pas supportable. J'ai donc besoin de la lune, ou du bonheur, ou de l'immortalité, de quelque chose qui soit dément peut-être, mais qui ne soit pas de ce monde.

F. Signaler les nouvelles divisions syllabiques particulièrement importantes pour la prononciation de certains phonèmes qui pourraient souffrir d'une interférence de la langue source de l'étudiant.

enchaînement consonantique: difficile à découvrir
la lune nécessaire

G. Relever également les assimilations dans les nouveaux groupes de consonnes formés par la disparition du [ə]:

pas de t ce monde:
empêche de déjeuner

H. Trouver les semi-voyelles qui sont syllabiques:

1 consonne + 1/2 voyelle = 1 syllabe : tient
2 consonnes + 1/2 voyelle = 2 syllabes : comprendrions
2 consonnes + [w] + a = 1 syllabe : histoire, crois

12 12 12

1. En classe, au laboratoire ou à la maison, pratiquer seul ou en choeur la lecture à haute voix, groupe par groupe, sans aucune pause à l'intérieur des groupes et en respectant scrupuleusement

toutes les observations signalées. Il sera évidemment préférable de mettre à la disposition de l'étudiant un enregistrement spécialement conçu selon ces règles pour lui servir de confirmation immédiate. Cet enregistrement pourra présenter deux phases. Dans la première, les groupes de souffle sont séparés par des pauses au cours desquelles l'étudiant répète; dans la seconde, il n'y a plus de pause, l'étudiant lit en même temps qu'il écoute ou avec un très léger décalage, comparable à celui que l'on observe dans la traduction simultanée.

NOTES

1 Pierre Léon, Monique Léon, Introduction à la phonétique corrective (Paris: Hachette et Larousse, 1964), p. 93.

ED138076

L'EFFACEMENT DU R FINAL ROMAN ET LES FORMES ALLONGÉES EN -ES AU PLURIEL DANS LO JUTGAMEN GENERAL

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Lo Jutgamen General se trouve dans une collection de drames rouergats de la fin du XV^e siècle. Le manuscrit a été acquis par la Bibliothèque Nationale, et porte actuellement la cote Manuscrit français, nouvelles acquisitions, 6252. M. Antoine Thomas,[1] alors professeur à la Faculté des Lettres à Toulouse, en a donné une description minutieuse et exacte en y joignant le texte complet de la première et de la troisième pièce, et deux fragments du Jutgamen General. La première publication complète du manuscrit a été préparée par MM. Alfred Jeanroy et H. Theulié.[2] En 1971, M. Moshé Lazar a donné une nouvelle édition critique du Jutgamen General qui est plus correcte que celle de Jeanroy-Theulié. Mon étude est basée sur le texte de M. Lazar.

I. L'effacement du r final roman

En provençal classique, le r final roman se maintient sans changement. Au XIV^e siècle, un certain amuïssement du r final de la désinence des infinitifs apparaît dans beaucoup de dialectes à l'ouest et au sud du territoire.[3] Dans le Jutgamen General, l'effacement du r final des infinitifs en -ar, -ir et en -er non accentué (< -ère) est facultatif. Voici un exemple pour chaque classe:

sans effacement: tonbar (v. 184), dormir (v. 2356), resemer (v. 1354);

avec effacement: tonba (v. 1917), dormi (v. 2353), reseme (v. 1761).

Pour le verbe murtrir (< murðrian, franc), le scribe se sert de la forme sans effacement et d'une forme avec l'effacement du r final dans le même contexte:

De te murtrir sertanamen (v. 1902)

De te murtri sertanamen (v. 2198)

Les continuateurs de *essĕre sont estre (v. 1017), eser (v. 2222) et esse (Rv. 1100). Dans les deux dernières formes, le maintien de la voyelle faible a empêché la formation du groupe str. M. Brunel[4] voit dans esse une continuation de la forme du latin classique, mais cette hypothèse est peu probable. Il s'agit plutôt d'un simple amuïssement du r de la forme esser.[5]

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Il est évident que dans les cas où le r a disparu dans l'orthographe, il avait aussi disparu dans la prononciation. Est-ce qu'il était encore prononcé dans les cas où l'effacement était possible mais où il s'est maintenu dans la graphie? Quelques rimes nous donnent une réponse assez satisfaisante.

Le scribe a une grande prédilection pour les rimes de deux infinitifs sans effacement du -r. Voici un exemple pour les infinitifs en -ar et -ir:

Ieu te iey ausit a la mort cridar
Que te vengués delieurar (v. 2121-22)

Quar el no es tant greu de salhir
De vostra conpaniha he despartir. (V. 1781-82)

Les rimes d'un infinitif sans effacement du -r avec un autre mot qui se termine par r sont aussi abondantes. Nous nous bornons à deux exemples:

Quar tu ieys montat sus lo autar
He aqui te ies fach adorar (v. 231-32)

Que tu me vulhas ausir,
Quar ieu iey sertanamen gran desir (v. 2011-12)

Les rimes avec un infinitif en -er non accentué font défaut. Dans un cas unique, le scribe fait rimer deux infinitifs en -ar avec l'effacement du r:

He no sabetz pas amodera
Vostre debat ni apaysa, (v. 1338-39)

Les rimes d'un infinitif qui a subi l'effacement du r final avec un autre mot sans r final abondent. Mais nous ne rencontrons jamais un mot en -r qui se rime avec un infinitif sans r final, ou un mot sans -r qui se rime avec un infinitif en -r. Ce fait nous donne la preuve que le r final des infinitifs était prononcé dans tous les cas où il apparaît dans l'orthographe. La rime suivante nous donne une dernière preuve:

He per so dic ieu, qui misericordia aguda no ha

Misericordia no deu trobar (v. 1771-72)

Le r final de trobar est biffé dans le manuscrit. S'il avait été muet dans la prononciation, le scribe n'aurait pas fait de correction. L'élimination du r était donc nécessaire pour garantir la rime.

Nous rencontrons l'effacement facultatif du r final aussi dans les substantifs mais seulement quand ils sont munis de la désinence s:

sans effacement: emperadors (Rv. 1), servidors (v. 2263), rictors (Rv. 643);

avec effacement: emperados (Rv. 1), servidos (v. 2597), rictos (v. 651).

Il s'agit ici d'une évolution récente qui ne doit pas être confondue avec les quelques mots dont le passage de -rs à -s remonte au latin vulgaire: dŏrsum > *dŏssu > dos, vĕrsus > *vĕssu > ves, sūrsu > *sūssu > sus, etc. Dans deux cas isolés à l'intérieur du vers, le scribe omet le r final substantif au singulier: enperado (Rv. 786), Mesatgie (Rv. 2699). Il est douteux si l'on puisse parler ici d'un amuïssement. Le r final roman pouvait tomber d'abord en syllabe posttonique.[6] Plus tard, plusieurs dialectes ont perdu le -r même en syllabe tonique.[7] Puisque nous rencontrons ces deux noms avec le r final dans tous les autres cas, il est fort probable qu'il s'agit ici d'une erreur de plume.

Le problème de la prononciation du r se présente aussi pour ce groupe de mots. Nous rencontrons les rimes suivantes en -ors : -ors, et en -os : -os:

To! lo gran capitani dels mals factors
Coma so enbriaicz, reneguadors, (v. 2113-14)

Ho, malvatz enperados,
Reys, contes, ducz he baros, (v. 833-34)

Dans deux cas, le scribe rime un nom qui a subi l'effacement du r avec un autre sans effacement du r:

Dels quals avetz tengutz grans lebries
Per casar blatz he sendiers, (v. 736-37)

Ieu iey fach to lo rebos
Sans lor donar negun socors (v. 1849-50)

Dans les vers suivants, nous rencontrons un substantif sans effacement du r rimé avec un mot sans r:

Mon filh, ieu soy aisi per davant vos
De avoquar per los pecadors (v. 1179-80)

Les rimes en -ies : -iers, -os : -ors, et davant vos : pecadors nous suggèrent que le r n'était probablement plus prononcé ou à peine perceptible dans la prononciation pour ce groupe de mots.

II. Les formes allongées en -es au pluriel

Les formes allongées en -es au pluriel abondent dans Lo Jutgamen General. La présente étude essaye de trouver l'origine de cet allongement et de voir si ces pluriels allongés sont conditionnés par le

désir de distinguer les nombres.

Dans Lo Jutgamen General, la déclinaison à deux cas a pratiquement disparu, la forme du CR ayant remplacé celle du CS. Il y reste quelques rares vestiges du CS qui n'ont pas d'importance pour mon étude. Les nombres se distinguent généralement par la présence ou l'absence d'un s de flexion. Pourtant les substantifs, les adjectifs et les participes passés qui se terminent déjà par un s ou par une autre sifflante occupent une place spéciale dans ce système flexionnel. La sifflante qui termine le radical de ces mots peut provenir d'un s latin, de c devant e, ou de t + j. Je me borne à quelques exemples pour chaque classe:

s < s : abus (v. 759) < abusu, bas (v. 1724) < bassu,
cas (v. 1304) < casu, fals (v. 893) < falsu,
pas (v. 2) < passu.

A ce groupe se rattachent les neutres latins de la troisième déclinaison en -us. Le pluriel de ces mots est refait d'après le type muros > murs: temps (v. 230) < tempus, temps (v. 1380) < *tempos, cors (v. 343) < corpus.

tz < c + e: crotz (Rv. 1) < cruce, patz (v. 1230) < pace, vetz (v. 48) < vice, votz (Rv. 1699) < voce.

tz < t + j: potz (v. 504) < puteu.

Les substantifs et les adjectifs de notre texte à radical en -s ou -tz sont invariables ou alors ils prennent l'allongement[8] en -es au pluriel. Pour les substantifs ou adjectifs suivants nous ne rencontrons que la forme allongée au pluriel:

avaritioses (v. 1433), borgeses (v. 777),
boytoses (v. 327), envegoses (v. 1435),
goloses (v. 1435), iroses (v. 1434),
luxurioses (v. 1434), maluroses (v. 458),
meses (v. 1165), orgolhoses (v. 1433).

Temps (v. 1380) < *tempos et fals (v. 889) < falsos n'ont pas de pluriel allongé.

Religios a un pluriel allongé et un autre sans allongement:

Nos fam a saber a totses relegioses (v. 750)
Los religios bernardins (Rv. 1)

Le participe passé dont le radical se termine en -s s'allonge toujours au masculin pluriel: preses (v. 1980), meses (v. 1584), comeses (v. 1054), trameses (v. 630).

Quelle est l'origine de ces formes allongées au pluriel? Les auteurs qui se sont exprimés sur la question ne sont pas d'accord sur l'explication des faits. On a voulu voir en -es le résultat d'une évolution phonétique régulière ou bien une désinence secondaire due au besoin d'exprimer le pluriel.

M. Appel[9] prétend que la voyelle post-tonique s'est maintenue sous la forme d'un e, pour permettre de distinguer les formes fléchies des formes non fléchies. Il met la désinence -es de la 2e personne du singulier de certaines formes verbales sur le même pied que l'allongement des noms à radical en s. Comme exemples il cite cantesses (imparf. du subj.) et florisses (prés. de l'ind. ou imparf. du subj.). M. Suchier[10] explique que les formes en -es représentent un développement phonétique régulier. La voyelle de la désinence pouvait se maintenir quand elle était entourée de s. Comme exemples il cite florisses < florescis, verses < versos, falses < falsos.

L'opinion de ces deux auteurs a été critiquée par M. Zaun: "Dass dieses [e] [le e de l'allongement -es] ein Rest des lat. Endvokals sei, ist möglich; doch sprechen dagegen vielleicht die vielen Indeklinabilia, die erst später diese Endung annehmen."[11]

M. Crescini[12] se prononce explicitement en faveur d'une théorie suivant laquelle il faudrait voir dans -es une syllabe secondaire, ajoutée par paragoge, pour distinguer le singulier du pluriel. M. Anglade[13] appelle -es un "allongement", ce qui semble impliquer qu'il considère cette terminaison comme secondaire. M. Schultz-Gora partage cette opinion: " . . . zuweilen erscheinende Formen auf -es, z. B. verses, meses sind wahrscheinlich erst sekundär entstanden."[14] M. Rohlfs[15] fait intervenir l'analogie pour expliquer la naissance de la désinence -es, mais il ne nous dit pas d'où elle est partie. M. Bourciez combine les deux points de vue: " . . . le pluriel allongé en -es . . . semble s'être produit d'une façon à la fois phonétique et analogique."[16] Il prétend qu'un e complémentaire pouvait se former phonologiquement entre s + s. Pour prouver la théorie analogique, il indique l'exemple "nostre mas, plur. nostres mas[es]."

Dans son étude approfondie sur la genèse des formes allongées, M. Bergh[17] propose que l'allongement des mots à radical en s est dû à des influences analogiques et en même temps conditionné par le désir de distinguer les nombres. Ses explications se rapprochent de celles données par M. Bourciez, mais sur la question du point de départ de l'analogie son opinion diffère. Il cherche l'analogie surtout dans les formes verbales de la deuxième personne du singulier

où-es est phonétiquement régulier. Il voit aussi une analogie éventuelle avec mezeis, mezeisses dont le pluriel allongé aurait pu se développer sous l'influence de mezesme, mezesmes.

Dans Lo Jutgamen General, les allongements en -es ne sont pas conditionnés par les besoins du sens et de la clarté. Dans tous les cas où une forme allongée en -es est employée, la forme non allongée ne changerait rien au sens. Je me borne à quatre exemples pour supporter mon argument:

Los boytoses he los tortz, (v. 327)

He las! iroses, castiatz vos totz (v. 2308)

Or sa, enfames luxurioses, (v. 2160)

Quar vos, ma mayre, me avetz portat

.IX. meses en vostre ventre (v. 1164-65)

Dans le premier exemple, l'article défini los est un pluriel et demande un substantif au pluriel. Los boytos au lieu de los boytoses ne changerait rien au sens ou à la clarté. Dans le deuxième exemple, c'est l'expression castiatz vos totz, et dans le troisième exemple l'adjectif enfames qui nous indiquent sans aucun doute que le substantif est au pluriel. Dans le dernier exemple, c'est le numéral .IX. qui met le nom auquel il se rapporte au pluriel. Ici, de nouveau, .IX. mes au lieu de .IX. meses ne changerait rien au sens ou à la clarté. Ces exemples n'excluent pourtant pas la possibilité que le besoin de distinguer les nombres ait originairement joué un certain rôle pour la formation des pluriels allongés en -es. J'ai seulement prouvé que les formes allongées dans Lo Jutgamen General ne sont pas conditionnées par le désir de distinguer les nombres.

En ce qui concerne la genèse des formes allongées, les pluriels allongés en -es du Jutgamen General supportent la théorie de l'influence analogique de M. Bergh. En provençal, les verbes dont le radical se termine par un groupe de consonnes, demandent une voyelle d'appui:

prés. de l'ind.: cobres < *coperis, obres < *operis,
sofres < *sofferis.

prés. du subj.: demostres < demonstres.

Cette désinence phonologique s'est étendue plus tard à d'autres formes verbales. Ainsi dans Lo Jutgamen General, la plupart des verbes en -er, -re et -ir ont la désinence -es à la 2e pers. prés. de l'ind.:

dises (v. 219), podes (v. 213), sabes (v. 171),
deves (v. 2186), veses (v. 2322), etc.

Tous les verbes en -ar ont la désinence -es à la 2e pers. prés. du subj.:

escapes (v. 2000), tues (v. 2064), delieures (v. 2128), dostes (v. 2563), gietes (v. 2677), etc.

C'est dans la désinence de ces verbes qu'il faut chercher l'analogie pour les pluriels allongés en -es. Je ne peux pas accepter la théorie des MM. Appel et Suchier selon laquelle les pluriels en -es représentent un développement phonétique régulier. Si ces formes étaient phonétiques, nous ne rencontrerions la désinence -es que dans les cas où la voyelle post-tonique s'est maintenue sous la forme d'un e. Mais dans Lo Jutgamen General nous rencontrons plusieurs formes qui ajoutent -es au pluriel sans y avoir étymologiquement droit. Ainsi nous rencontrons les démonstratifs aquelses (v. 172), aquetses (v. 2079), à côté de aquels (v. 302) et aquestz (v. 522), les indéfinis totses (v. 69), toses (v. 19), trastotses (v. 1023), trastoses (v. 1761), à côté de totz (v. 297), trastotz (v. 481), la locution adverbiale tanses de (v. 627) à côté de tans de (v. 291), le pronom personnel elses (v. 849) qui apparaît beaucoup plus souvent que la forme non allongée els (v. 1461). Et comment expliquer la forme vistes (v. 626) < *vistos? Ce mot s'allonge au masc. plur. bien que son radical ne soit pas en s. La désinence -es lui est donnée sans doute par analogie et probablement conditionnée par le besoin d'alléger le groupe sts, difficile à prononcer.

Les arguments exposés ci-dessus me semblent suffire pour démontrer que les pluriels allongés en -es du Jutgamen General sont de formation secondaire et ne sont pas conditionnés par le désir de distinguer les nombres.

NOTES

1. "Mélanges et documents."
2. Mystères provençaux du quinzième siècle.
3. Grandgent, p. 194.
4. Chartes, p. 469.
5. Grafström, Morphologie, § 48, b.
6. Grafström, Graphie, § 54, 3.
7. Ronjat, II, § 390.
8. Le terme "allongement" est employé dans la suite sans référence à l'origine des formes en -es.
9. Lautlehre, § 42 c.

10. Le français et le provençal, p. 33.
11. "Die Mundart von Aniane", p. 183, § 353.
12. Manuale, p. 70.
13. Grammaire, p. 216.
14. Schultz-Gora, Elementarbuch, § 98.
15. "Le gascon," p. 119, § 412.
16. Bourciez, Eléments, § 302 c.
17. "La déclinaison," p. 1-95.

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A CONCRETE INTERPRETATION OF ENGLISH VERBAL MORPHOLOGY WITHIN THE LEXICALIST FRAMEWORK

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Chomsky and Halle[1] have proposed that a complex set of phonological rules account for the alternations of the verb stem in the present, past, and nonprogressive participial forms, as well as certain other alternations in English. They have proposed a set of readjustment rules which exist apart from the phonological rules,[2] and which apply to abstract underlying systematic phonemic segments. In recent times the use of abstract phonology has been critically questioned by linguists like Kiparsky.[3] And John Delack[4] observed that in German no generalization can be formed to predict the variations of the Standard German vocalic alternations of the root vowel. At the Zweite Internationale Phonologie Tagung in Vienna in 1972, where Prof. Delack presented his paper, various people suggested that such stem vowel variations be entered in the lexicon itself, rather than be accounted for by a series of abstract or concrete phonological rules.

The problem of accounting for vowel alternations in strong verbs in English is the same as in German, although there are fewer strong verbs in English than in German. Nevertheless, a question is raised about whether Chomsky and Halle's approach is satisfactory within the framework of a concrete interpretation of generative phonology. Furthermore, the lexicalist approach to syntax and its correlative, interpretative semantics, presents further problems in phonological analysis.

In 1972 Jackendoff[5] published the first major work on interpretive semantics. He states that syntactic categories are formal categories referring to syntactic phrase-structure rules and to the transformations which move certain nodes within a dendrogram. All syntactic grammatical relations, lexical items, and the result of transformations, are subject to semantic interpretation. Semantic information cannot be generated by syntactic rules.

Within this framework, observe the following facts about the English verbal inflectional system. In the standard theory the node 'Tense' is generated and it is subcategorized as 'past' or 'nonpast'.[6] The unmarked rule for the past tense generates the suffix /d/, and the unmarked rule for the 'nonpast' in the environment of a third person singular subject--or possibly the predicate object where backwards agreement occurs--generates /z/. However, such a rule is not permissible within the lexicalist framework, because a semantic category has been generated. Somehow, this rule must be

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reversed.

Morris Halle,[7] looking at word formation, proposed a reformulation which provides a working model. He writes that in a given language a word is constrained in its morphological structure in such a way that in a given position only a certain class of desinences may be generated. The grammatical morphemes are filtered out either in the lexical entry, as in the case of the formation of complex stems from less complex or underived stems, or by grammatical constraints, such as agreement.

Now, in English the verb is composed of a stem plus a desinence.[8] There is but one desinence, and the generation of any further desinences results in an ungrammatical form. Hence, this constraint in English is shown in Rule (1):

(1). Verb --> Verb stem + (desinence).

The desinence is not required with every occurring form of the verb stem. The lack of a desinence is referred to as 'zero'.

Within the standard analysis there are six possible phonological forms which may occur in the position of the desinence: /d/, /t/, /z/, /en/, /ing/, and zero. That these morphemes are marked as desinences indicates that they cannot occur in any other position. If they do, a filtering convention determines that such a derived word is ungrammatical, for example, *edwalk for walked. The lexical entry of these forms also includes the semantic or semological[9] information that is to be interpreted in a given context. For example, /z/ marks the 'nonpast' tense and is so marked for occurring with a third person singular subject. The semological feature 'nonpast' may be semantically interpreted as actions which are 'simultaneous to the moment of the speech event,' 'a continuous action which includes the moment of the speech event,' or an action which is described in the 'historical past' or to 'a timeless state' such as a generic description. The past, which is marked by /d/, /t/, or zero frequently occurring with an internal vowel change, may only refer to an action preceding the speech event. The desinences /d/, /t/, and /en/ may all mark the passive participle, and /ing/ the progressive participle.

Consider the desinence /z/, the phonological form proposed by Sloat and Hoard.[10] From this systematic underlying phoneme, they derive [s], [z] , and [əz]. But consider the level of the biunique phoneme. In the traditional analyses of the American and Prague schools, /s/, /z/, and /əz/ would be distinct phonemic entities. However, the principle "Once a phoneme, always a phoneme" is considered incorrect.[11] A phoneme is determined by its position in a word, in which case it must be in contrast with some other form and not predictable. This principle is an extension of Trubetzkoy's

archiphonemic principle.[12] However, he could not incorporate this principle into his phonemic theory.

In English at the end of a word stem, that is, following the boundary '+', there is no possible contrast of /s/, /z/, or /əz/. These forms are predictable, and therefore not distinctive. In such a case the phoneme is considered unmarked for the feature which is neutralized, here, voice. In English /s/ is the unmarked alveolar spirant, because it occurs in combinations with voiceless obstruents and sonorants, where /z/ cannot occur distinctively in these positions, with the exception of a very small class of foreign words, like Aztec. Note that in Mazda, the voicing of the spirant is predictable and therefore unmarked, because the obstruent /d/ is marked for voice. Such clusters are uncommon in English, occurring mainly in foreign words. The unmarked clusters are phonetically voiceless. Ignored here is the voicing of /s/ following a sonorant before a stressed vowel. Within the phonemic framework accepted here, the desinence is represented as /s/, and two phonetic rules apply. The first inserts [ə] if the stem terminates in a sibilant, and the second determines that the segment is voiced if it follows a voiced segment, and voiceless if not. Thus, the verbs pinch, sit, and rid have the following phonetic derivation:

(2).	/pinč+s/	/sit+s/	/rid+s/	
	pinč+əs	---	---	[ə]-epenthesis
	pinč+əz	---	rid+z	Voicing Assimilation
	[pínčəz]	[sits]	[ridz]	

Zero occurs if the subject is not the third person singular. Hence, a filter is necessary to filter out ⁄s⁄, where it is ungrammatical. These two desinences occur in complementary distribution except in a few stems. Thus a grammatical filter is proposed in (3). The morphophoneme ⁄s⁄ is marked as [-personal, -plural], but zero is not marked. The filter in (3) establishes the agreement rule:

(3) $$\left[_{S}\left[\begin{bmatrix} N \\ \begin{bmatrix}-\text{person}\\-\text{plural}\end{bmatrix}\end{bmatrix} \quad \ldots \quad V + \left[\begin{bmatrix} \text{des} \\ \begin{bmatrix}-\text{person}\\-\text{plural}\end{bmatrix}\end{bmatrix}\right]_{S}\right.$$ (condition: N is not dominated by PP.)

The filter in (3) applies at the end of the cyclical component in syntax, but it must apply before the post-cyclical rules which move noun phrases into sentence initial position and invert subjects and auxiliaries. The condition is to stipulate the verb agrees with the head noun in the noun phrase and not with one which is a complement to the head noun, in which case it is dominated by PP. In substandard English, and in frequent speech errors, such agreement does occur: 'The gaggle of geese are ready to eat' instead of the

literary 'The gaggle of geese is ready to eat.' The filter specifies that if a desinence is marked with the features of person and number, it must agree in the feature specification with the subject noun. Because both /z/ and zero have the same interpretation, a filtering convention is required. This convention must state that given more than one desinence with the same interpretation, the filtering rule applies to the marked forms first, and second to the unmarked form or the less marked form. In this way /s/ is grammatical only if it occurs with a third person singular subject; otherwise, the construction is ungrammatical. Zero is filtered out only if the specification for /s/ is to be met. Thus the phrase *'He write' is ungrammatical because the filter requires /s/, and *'They writes' is ungrammatical because it fails to comply with the structural description of the filter.

The morphophoneme /s/ cannot occur after a modal auxiliary. This fact cannot be determined by a syntactic rule, but by a lexical rule. Modal auxiliaries are not syntactically different from other auxiliaries. Their differences are lexical. Thus, a lexical filter is necessary to block /s/. The lexical entry for will in (4) is similar to the lexical entries for the other modals; the desinence /s/ is blocked by a negative lexical feature. The filter in (3) would require the suffix /s/ if the subject is the third person singular. However, the negative lexical feature in (4) blocks /s/, and, therefore, zero is not filtered out:

(4). $\begin{bmatrix} \text{will} \\ \\ +\text{verbal} \\ +\text{aux} \\ +\text{modal} \\ -[\ldots +/s/] \end{bmatrix}$

The verb have is irregular in the environment the desinence /s/ and the desinence marking the past tense. The final consonant /v/ is deleted before both of these suffixes: has /hæ+s/ and had /hæ+t/. A lexical rule feature is required which stipulates that /v/ is deleted before a consonantal desinence. Note that this feature only occurs with have, but not with the homophonous verb halve or with any other verb which terminates in /v/.

The past tense in English is more complex. Sloat and Hoard[13] posit that the unmarked ending is /d/. The desinence /d/ is similar to /s/, wherein [ə]-epenthesis occurs between a root ending in a dental stop and /d/ and Voicing Assimilation applies. Thus, the underlying form of the desinence should be the unmarked segment /t/. However, Sloat and Hoard posit another desinence /t/, which they differentiate from /d/, wherein /t/ does not undergo Voicing Assimilation. Two possible analyses arise. One is to accept /d/ as do Sloat

and Hoard, and lose the generality that both desinences are unmarked for voice. However, there can be no possible contrast of /d/ and /t/ following the formative boundary '+'. In the one class of verbs [d], [t], and [əd] are always in complementary distribution. In the other only [t] occurs. There are no homophonous pairs of verbs in English, one of which requires [d] or [əd], and the other of which requires [t], wherein there would be a contrast. There are verbs which alternate between both of these classes; for example, dreamed and dreamt. The phone [d] in the former and [t] in the latter are alternants of the same phoneme. No contrast arises. The morphophoneme /t/ is posited as the past tense marker. In a small subclass of weak verbs, the stem is marked with a lexical feature that stipulates that /t/ does not undergo phonetic voicing. The formal marking of the desinence is indicated in (5). The feature [Mvoicing-assim] is not a phonological feature, but a lexical feature referring to the nonapplication of a phonetic rule. The ending is abbreviated to /Mt/;

(5). $\begin{bmatrix} \text{Uapical} \\ \text{Uvoice} \\ \text{Ucontinuant} \\ \text{Mvoicing-assim.} \end{bmatrix} = /\text{Mt}/$

The lexical entries for sleep and dream are partially shown in (6). The enclosing of parentheses around /Mt/ in dream indicates that the desinence is optional, and that the regular desinence may occur. In sleep only /Mt/ may occur: slept, but not *sleeped:

(6). $/\text{dr}\bar{\text{I}}\text{m}/ \begin{bmatrix} +\text{V} \\ \text{____}(/\text{Mt}/) \end{bmatrix}$ $/\text{sl}\bar{\text{I}}\text{p}/ \begin{bmatrix} +\text{V} \\ \text{____}/\text{Mt}/ \end{bmatrix}$.

Concomitant with the suffix /Mt/ is the fact that there is always a vocalic alternation of the root vowel if it is tense. Three subclasses of verbs occur. The first includes such pairs as dream, dreamt; sleep, slept; keep, kept; sweep, swept; creep, crept; feel, felt; the second buy, bought; seek, sought; think, thought; catch, caught; and the third leave, left; lose, lost. In the first class Sloat and Hoard posit an abstract underlying systematic phoneme /ē/ which is replaced with /e/ by the rule Cluster Laxing, which Chomsky and Halle propose,[14] in the past tense. Otherwise, by the Great Vowel Shift /ē/ is replaced with /ī/. In order to prevent Cluster Laxing in regular verbs such as seep, seeped, they propose that the regular suffix /d/ is affixed to the stem with the word boundary '#', whereas /t/ is affixed to the stem with the formative boundary '+'. In this way Cluster Laxing, which laxes vowels before two or more obstruents, applies across the formative boundary, but not across the word boundary.

The fact is, however, that no empirical evidence in English exists supporting such a differentiation of boundaries. The difference in the two boundaries was merely devised to form an ad hoc condition to predict vocalic laxing. Both desinences have exactly the same morphological properties and differ in no other way than the lack of phonetic assimilation. In order to avoid this problem of the use of two different boundaries, one could posit that /ed/, or some similar form, underlies the regular desinence. In addition to the arguments that Sloat and Hoard raise against such a solution and the fact that the vowel is predictable, in the past tense of have the root final /v/ is deleted before a consonantal ending: /hæv+s/ --> /hæ+s/, /hæv+t/ --> /hæ+t/. Consonant cluster reduction is a natural process, and furthermore, if a rule were posited which deletes /v/ between vowels, an exception would be required to prevent its deletion before the suffix ing in having.

Historically, there were two desinences, one of which was /t/, which indeed did cause Vowel Laxing.[15] In the other desinence a vowel preceded /d/, which blocked the laxing rule and was subsequently lost. By historical accidence the laxing rule has remained in English. The marked desinence with which the alternation is concomitant is slowly disappearing in favour of the unmarked desinence: dreamt and dreamed. Spelled has almost completely replaced spelt in North American English.

Diachronically, rules in some case may be added to the end of a grammar, but in other cases an entire phonological subsystem may be reinterpreted in which case no rule is added to the grammar.[16] This observation weakens the claims that abstract phonological systems arise through the addition of rules to a grammar and in some cases shows them to be unacceptable. Relevant to the issue here is the claim that a speaker internalizes the vowel in dream as /ē/. This claim is weakened because of the development of the regular desinence into a monosegmental form. In view of the claim that the regular desinence is /t/ and the lack of any empirical evidence for two different boundaries, Cluster Laxing is not considered to be a phonological process in Modern English, but rather is a lexical readjustment rule.

Chomsky and Halle[17] introduced readjustment rules which alter the phonological form of a lexical entry in various contexts in a systematic way. Lexical readjustment rules make possible the positing of the claim that the root vowel of a verb stem is laxed and lowered if the stem occurs with /Mt/. Hence the alternation of the vowel is not a phonological process bound to an ad hoc condition, but a lexical readjustment replacing the root vowel.

In the second subclass of verbs occurring with /Mt/, other

alternations occur. The sequence /Ik/ is replaced with /a/, or /o/ in such dialects where lax rounded nonhigh vowels occur; for example, seek /sIk/ alternates with sought /sat/ (or /sot/). The final consonant of these stems is lost. There are various possible lexical readjustment rules. In addition to the laxing and lowering adjustment, another readjustment deletes final consonant clusters which terminate in a velar or a palatal as in sought, might, thought, taught, caught. Concomitant with this readjustment rule is another which backs and lowers the root vowel, and labializes the vowel in dialects with lax rounded vowels. However, the alternation of the vowel in may and might is determined by this rule, but the insertion of /j/ in /majt/ is unique. This sonorant is diachronically derived from a velar. But to posit an underlying /x/, as Chomsky and Halle do in right[18] for example, seems to be positing and ad hoc form to account for the alternation in the phonological component instead of in the lexical component.

The lexical readjustment rules in (7), (8), and (9) occur regularly with verbs which are marked with /Mt/. They need not be entered in the lexical entry of each such verb:

(7). $\begin{bmatrix}+\text{syl}\\+\text{tense}\end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix}-\text{tense}\\+\text{low}\\(+\text{round})\end{bmatrix} / __ \begin{bmatrix}+\text{cons}\\+\text{high}\end{bmatrix} + /\text{Mt}/.$

(8). $\left(\begin{bmatrix}+\text{son}\\-\text{syl}\end{bmatrix}\right) \begin{bmatrix}+\text{cons}\\+\text{high}\end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \emptyset / _____ + /\text{Mt}/.$

(9). /I/ ⟶ /e/ /_____ + /Mt/.

Other lexical readjustment rules such as the insertion of /j/ must be entered in the lexical entry of the verb whenever they are not predictable outside of the lexical entry. Rules (7), (8), and (9) apply in this order. This ordering of the readjustment rules predicts that the vowel in seek becomes a back lax vowel before /k/, and this, Rule (9) does not apply to it. Otherwise */set/ would be generated instead of the grammatical form /sat/.

Consider the subclass of verbs which terminate in /d/ and are marked with /Mt/; for example build and its past tense form built. Sloat and Hoard assume that the stem final segment /d/ first undergoes Obstruent Voicing Assimilation, and then the cluster /t+t/ is simplified: /bild+t/ --> /bilt+t/ -> /bil+t/. No empirical evidence supports this analysis. Cluster Simplification is a lexical adjustment rule which states that a dental stop is deleted before /Mt/:

(10). $\begin{bmatrix}+\text{cons}\\+\text{apical}\\+\text{cont}\end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \emptyset / _____ + /\text{Mt}/.$

Thus, /bild+Mt/ --> /bil+Mt/. Clusters are permitted in English phonemically, in which the phonetic rule, [ə]-epenthesis, applies; for example seeded. Chomsky and Halle[19] order readjustment rules before phonological ones. Thus Sloat and Hoard's analysis is incorrect as well as unjustified.

Sloat and Hoard consider the alternation of voiced and voiceless continuants to be a phonological rule in English in such verbs as leave and left, lose and lost. There are two arguments which do not support this claim, despite the fact that this alternation appears to be a phonological process. First, the claim here is that there is but one past tense desinence, phonemically /t/. /Mt/ is a variant of this desinence which fails to undergo certain phonetic rules. The alternation of voice in continuants is dependent on the nonphonological feature [Mvoice-assim.], and it, therefore, cannot be a phonological rule. Second, phonological voicing assimilation occurs before derivational suffixes; for example, twelve, twelfth. But it does not occur before desinences. Here, the phonetic progressive voicing assimilation rule applies. Thus, the voicing alternation in leave, lose, and other similar verbs must be determined by a lexical readjustment rule. Although historically this was a phonological rule, Modern English has evolved into a different system, wherein the rules for assimilation have changed. The alternations associated with the Middle English desinence /t/ have now become completely unproductive and they are slowly disappearing. Such rules must now be relegated to the lexical readjustment component.

The lexical readjustment rules of the strong verbs are not discussed here. In this class of verbs there is no desinence marking the past tense. The past tense is interpreted by a change of the root vowel, and so is the nonprogressive participle. For example, in sing the change of the root vowel to /æ/ marks the past tense; and to /ʌ/, the nonprogressive participle. That the lexical entry of the strong verbs marks the past tense filters out the occurrence of the past tense desinence. In two verbs there occur both a change of the root vowel and a past tense desinence: tell, told; and sell, sold. Here, there must be a lexical readjustment rule which states that the vowel becomes /o͞/ before the unmarked desinence /t/.

The final class of verbs includes those with neither an overt desinence nor with a change of the root vowel: hit, put, set; and bid, wed. Sloat and Hoard assume that /t/ (/Mt/)occurs marking the past tense, and by Consonant Cluster Simplification the final dental stop is deleted. In order to prevent the derivation of /bid+t/ --> /bit+t/ --> */bi+t/, they must order this rule before voicing assimilation applies. Not only is there no empirical evidence that a desinence occurs, the rules they propose are shown to be lexical readjustment rules. In fact, there is no lexical readjustment in this class of verbs. In view of the fact that zero desinences do occur

in the interpretation of the past tense, one may assume that a zero desinence occurs in the past tense here. Obviously, the unmarked form of the stem is ambiguous when the subject is not the third person singular. Such verbs may be interpreted either as the past or as the nonpast tense. The lexical entry of this class of verbs must include the information that the unmarked form of the verb may be interpreted as either the past or the nonpast tense. The proposed filtering convention blocks the generating of a desinence because of the presence of this lexical feature.

The desinence /Mt/ also marks the nonprogressive participle. Only in the class of strong verbs are the past and the nonprogressive participle forms usually not identical; for example, sing, sang, sung. In some verbs both forms are identical; for example, dig, dug, dug. The lexical entry of the verb must determine the vocalic readjustment rules for both, and whether a desinence occurs with the participle; for example, driven, seen, gone. The desinence here is /n/. The phonetic interpretation of the desinence is syllabic [n̩] if it follows an obstruent, but nonsyllabic if it follows a vowel. In at least one verb in the colloquial language, the past tense form is strong, but the participle is regular: dive, dove, dived. The past tense form is marked in the lexicon but the participle is not. Thus the unmarked desinence /t/ is derived.

The progressive participle in English is regular. There are no alternative forms of it, and neither are there any changes in the verb stem. This desinence may be generated with any verb in English subject to the syntactic rules, which state that such a verb must follow the auxiliary be.[20]

In summary, the filtering convention first filters out the set of desinences which have the same semantic interpretation. The filter works in two ways. One is through lexical subcategorized features which require the presence or the lack of a desinence where it is unpredictable. A second is that agreement filters out the ungrammatical form subject to lexical subcategorized features which account for exceptions to agreement. In all remaining verb stems the unmarked desinences remain, and are therefore grammatical. This filtering convention, the readjustment rules, and the exclusion of abstract systematic phonemic representation, eliminate the need for poorly motivated rules in the phonological component.

NOTES

1. Noam Chomsky and Morris Halle, The Sound Pattern of English (New York: Harper and Row, 1968).
2. Ibid., pp. 238-239.
3. Paul Kiparsky, "How abstract is phonology," (Unpublished ms., distributed by the Indiana University Linguistics Club).

4. John Delack, "Ablaut in German Strong Verbs Revisited," (To appear in the Proceedings of the Zweite Internationale Phonologie-Tagung, Vienna, 1972).

5. Ray Jackendoff, Semantic Interpretation in Generative Grammar (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1972).

6. The term 'nonpast' is used in place of the term 'present' in accordance with the Prague School usage, wherein it does not specifically refer to the present.

7. Morris Halle, "Prolegomena to a Theory of Word Formation," Linguistic Inquiry, 4 (1973), 3-16.

8. The term 'desinence' indicates an inflectional morpheme.

9. Richard C. DeArmond, "Generative Semantics vs. Generative Syntax," in Proceedings of the Eleventh International Congress of Linguists, Bologna-Florence, Aug. 28 - Sept. 2, 1972. (Bologna: Societa editrice il Mulino Bologna, 1972), pp. 389-397. The term 'semology' was proposed to refer to the relationship of semantic units used in linguistic constructs. A semological category is open to a semantic interpretation, determined in part in a nonlinguistic context.

10. Clarence Sloat and James E. Hoard, "The Inflectional Morphology of English," Glossa, 5 (1971), 47-53.

11. Richard C. DeArmond, "The Russian Phoneme Revisited," in Proceedings, Pacific Northwest Conference on Foreign Languages, Twenty-fourth Annual Meeting, May 4-5, 1973, ed. Walter C. Kraft (Corvalis: Oregon State University, 1973), pp. 86-87.

12. N.S. Trubetzkoy, Principles of Phonology (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969), pp. 77-82 and 228-241. (Translated by Christiane A. M. Baltaxe, from Grundzüge der Phonologie (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1958.)

13. Sloat and Hoard, "Inflectional Morphology," p. 53.

14. Chomsky and Halle, Sound Pattern, p. 241.

15. Ibid., p. 263.

16. Richard C. DeArmond, "Phonological Restructuring vs. Rule Addition," (To appear in the Proceedings of the First International Conference on Historical Linguistics, Edinburgh, 1973).

17. Chomsky and Halle, Sound Pattern, pp. 9-11.

18. Ibid., pp. 233-234.

19. Ibid., pp. 238-239.

20. Richard C. DeArmond, "On the Syntax of Auxiliaries, the Copula, and the Main Verb in English" (Unpublished ms. read before the Annual Meeting of the Rocky Mountain Linguistics Society, Calgary, 1974).

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SYNTACTIC DEVICES OF EMPHASIS IN CONTEMPORARY FRENCH

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0.1 - The topic of this paper is what the French call la mise en relief. The phenomenon is actually well-known. Many grammars contain a chapter on devices of emphasis. However, the subject is rarely treated in a systematic way.[1] This paper will focus on the three most important syntactic devices of emphasis (SDE), the "c'est . . que" formula, the emphatic insertion and the emphatic disjunction. These will be analyzed with regard to their applicability, components and syntactic behavior. They will also be related to certain other syntactic devices of emphasis.[2]

0.2 - The data used in this study are sentences made up for the occasion and checked by a native speaker, or taken from such sources as literary texts, newspaper and magazine articles. They represent constructions of contemporary standard French, the speech used by educated Frenchmen in speaking and writing.

It is hoped that this analysis can be applied in the teaching/learning situation. The descriptive apparatus will be kept as simple as possible in terminology and procedure.[3]

0.3 - Devices of emphasis can be defined as constructions of syntactic paraphrase whose function is to make certain parts of a sentence "stand out" for purposes of contrast, clarification, differentiation, or simply because the element is considered, for some reason, particularly important.

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A sentence like (1) "Marie aime Paul" (Mary loves Paul) can be rewritten in several ways, without change in denotational meaning.

(1a) C'est Marie qui aime Paul. (It is Mary who loves Paul)
(1b) C'est Paul que Marie aime. (It is Paul whom Marie loves.)
(1c) Marie, elle, aime Paul. (Marie, as for her, loves Paul.)
(1d) Marie, elle aime Paul./Elle aime Paul, Marie. (Marie, she loves Paul)
(1e) Paul, Marie l'aime./Marie l'aime, Paul. (Paul, Marie loves him.)

Sentences (1a) to (1e) differ from (1) in that, in various fashions, either the subject or the direct object is particularly emphasized. A sentence like (1) will be called "base sentence" and will be assumed to be of a "neutral stress value." In other words, it will be assumed that in sentence (1) no element "stands out" beyond the emphasis that results from the normal sentence stress pattern of French. A base sentence is then the structure that underlies the "emphatic sentence":[4]

SDE + Base Sent. ⟶ Emphatic Sent.

Such a transformation is always optional. But it may result in other, secondary transformations that are either compulsory or optional. Thus in (1e), the addition of the personal pronoun before the verb is compulsory. Without it, the sentence would be non-grammatical:

(1f) *Paul, Marie aime.

Any emphatic sentence that results from the application of a device of emphasis can be retransformed into a grammatically correct base sentence:

(2)	C'est ă P. qu'il ira étudier (It is in P. that he is going to study)	⟵	Il ira ĕtudier à P. (He is going to study in P.)
(3)	C'est à moi qu'il doit la vie (It is to me that he owes his life)	⟵	Il me doit la vie. (He owes me his life)
(4)	Chantal, elle, s'y oppose (Ch., as for her opposes it)	⟵	Chantal s'y oppose. (Ch. opposes it)
(5)	Lui, il nous reconnaîtra (He, he will recognize us)	⟵	Il nous reconnaîtra (He will recognize us)
(6)	Lui, on le reconnaîtra (Him, one will recongize him)	⟵	On le reconnaîtra (One will recognize him)
(7)	J'y tiens beaucoup, à ce truc	⟵	Je tiens beaucoup à ce truc.
	(I value it much, this thing)		(I value this thing much)

If it contains one or more elements of variable position, an emphatic sentence may be retransformed into several variants of the base sentence, as is shown by the following data:

(8) C'est demain qu'il la verra devant Notre-Dame? ⟵

(a) Demain, il la verra devant Notre-Dame?
(b) Il la verra demain devant Notre-Dame?

(9) Il leur a expliqué que cet accord, à cause de son caractère bilatéral, renforce la sécurité de leur pays. ⟵

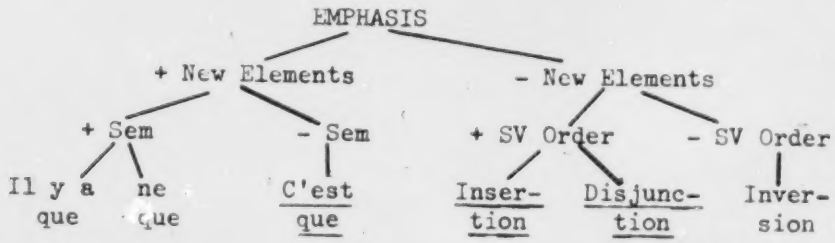
(a) Il leur a expliqué que cet accord renforce la sécurité de leur pays à cause de son caractère bilatéral.
(b) Il leur a expliqué que, à cause de son caractère bilatéral, cet accord renforce la sécurité de leur pays.

An emphatic device can be applied to a declarative base sentence or an interrogative one as in (8), and to an independent/principal clause or a subordinate clause as in (9).

0.4 - The fundamental raison d'être of all syntactic devices of emphasis is the lack, in French, of a phonemic stress system. In order to put special emphasis on a particular element in the sentence, French relies heavily on syntactic means.

All syntactic devices of emphasis put the element to be emphasized (abbreviated as E) in a strong stress position. Conversely, unstressed elements in the base sentence cannot be emphasized by any device unless a transformation "unstressable → stressable" is applied, for example "il/le → lui," as in (5) and (6); see also (3). This transformation will hereafter be assumed to be obvious and therefore not be mentioned in each case.

0.5 - With certain devices, emphasis is achieved through the addition of syntactic elements that are not found in the base sentence or that cannot be developed out of the base sentence by a transformation, as in (1a), (1b), (2), (3), (8). Two of these introduce, together with the emphatic effect, a particular meaning, (+ sem), a third one does not, (- sem). With certain other devices, no such "new" elements are added. Rather, emphasis is achieved through a rearrangement of the base sentence, as in (1c), (1d), (1e), (4), (5), (6), (7), (9). Two of the latter maintain the normal SV (O) word order, a third one does not. The tree-diagram below illustrates the classification of the six principal devices of emphasis. Only the underlined devices will be specifically discussed in this paper:



1. -The "C'est ..que" Formula

1.1 -Data: besides (1a), (1b), (2), (3), (8) and (11), consider the following sentences:

(10) C'est devant Notre-Dame qu'il la verra demain.
(11) C'est quand il arrive un grand malheur que les hommes s'entr'aident.
(12) C'est pour la calmer que je lui ai parlé de son fils.
(13) C'est de ses vacances qu'il se souvient tous le jours.
(14) C'est en pratiquant qu'on devient maître.

(15) C'est eux que je vois le lundi.
(16) C'est lire qu'il préfère à toute autre activité.
(17) C'est français que vous êtes, n'est-ce pas?
(18) C'est un fidèle ami que Pierre.
(19) C'est une faute impardonnable que de prononcer ce mot ici.
(20) C'est moi qui dors dans ce lit.
(21) C'est le livre qui est sur la table de nuit.
(22) C'est travailler de ses mains qui est, pour lui, le plus grand plaisir.
(23)* C'est qu'il va venir qu'elle veut.
(24)* C'est combien vous l'aimez que je sais.

1.2. - The "c'est .. que" formula is related to, but not identical with the deictic "C'est Louis. C'est moi. C'est une fenêtre," which itself can be considered as the translation into language of the gesture of pointing out something.[5] The "c'est .. que" device consists of two elements. The first isolates E, the second connects it to the rest of the base sentence. In its most general form, the formula can be written as:

ISOL. + E + CON. + SENT.

ISOL. ⟶ ce + être
CON. ⟶ /K/

The connector can assume two different functions in the sentence. Accordingly, two types of the formula can be distinguished.

1.3 - Type 1:

$$/K/ \longrightarrow \text{que} \begin{bmatrix} -\text{rel} \\ -\text{ref} \end{bmatrix}$$

$$E \longrightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} \text{SM} \\ \text{prep. + C} \end{Bmatrix}$$

"-ref." means that, contrary to the relative "que/qui" below, "que," here, does not refer to any grammatical antecedent and that it has no meaning of its own. As for the definition of "sentence modifier" (SM), see footnote.[2]

If one disregards for the time being two optional transformations of the verb "être", this first type of the formula can be written as:

$$\text{C'EST} + \begin{Bmatrix} \text{SM} \\ \text{prep + C} \end{Bmatrix} + \text{QUE} + \text{SENTENCE}$$

This formula serves to emphasize all sentence modifiers, as in (8), (10), (11), (12), (14) and all complements that are introduced by a preposition or that could be rewritten as prepositional NP's, as in (2), (3), (13). Elements not subject to the SVO word order rules may have to be rearranged so as not to interfere with the initial position of E.

1.4 - Type 2:

$$/K/ \longrightarrow \underset{\begin{bmatrix}+\text{ rel}\\+\text{ ref}\end{bmatrix}}{\text{que/qui}}$$

Contrary to the connector in type 1, "que" and "qui," as relative words, are fully integrated into the modifier sentence:

$$\text{C'EST} + \text{E} + \begin{Bmatrix}\text{QUE}\\\text{QUI}\end{Bmatrix} + \text{Rel SENTENCE}$$

According to the function of the relative /K/, it is possible to differentiate between several areas of application for type 2.

1.4.1- $/K/ \longrightarrow \underset{[\text{d Obj}]}{\text{que}}$ $\qquad$ $\text{E} \longrightarrow \underset{\begin{bmatrix}+\text{ N/Pr/Inf}\\-\text{ clause}\end{bmatrix}}{\text{d Obj}}$

The element to be emphasized by this construction is any direct object in the base sentence, as in (1b), (15), (16), with the exception of an object clause; see (23), (24).

1.4.2- $/K/ \longrightarrow \underset{[\text{pred}]}{\text{que}}$ $\qquad$ $\text{E} \longrightarrow \underset{[\text{A/N}]}{\text{Pred}}$

If, in the base sentence, the element to be emphasized is a predicate adjective or a non-individualized noun, the formula applies in its standard form, as in (17).

If, in the base sentence, the element to be emphasized is a predicate noun that is individualized by a particularizing determiner or modifier and if the subject is also a noun, the verb "être" is deleted in the relative clause, as in (18).

If, in the base sentence, the element to be emphasized is a predicate noun and the subject an infinitive, a further transformation is required, namely the addition, before the infinitive, of a special subject marker "de," as in (19).

1.4.3- $/K/ \longrightarrow \underset{[\text{subj}]}{\text{qui}}$ $\qquad$ $\text{E} \longrightarrow \text{Subj}$

The element to be emphasized by this construction is the subject of the base sentence as in (1a), (20), (21), (22).

1.5 - Two optional transformations can be applied to the formula.

1.5.1- The first one concerns the case when the element to be emphasized is a non-prepositional plural noun or pronoun:

$$\text{C'EST} + \underset{[\text{pl}]}{\text{E}} + \text{Rel} + \underset{[-\text{pred}]}{\text{X}} \longrightarrow \text{CE SONT}$$

(25) Ils l'ont fait ⟶

(a) C'est eux qui l'ont fait
(b) Ce sont eux qui l'ont fait

(26) J'ai vu les deux garçons. ⟶

(a) C'est les deux garçons que j'ai vus.
(b) Ce sont les deux garçons que j'ai vus.

1.5.2- The second optional transformation concerns the tense of the verb "être" in the first part of the formula. "C'est" is, from the point of view of tense, unmarked and thus applicable to a base sentence with virtually any tense. If the time element itself is to be especially stressed, the tense of the base sentence may be carried over into the formula:

CE + être + E /K/ + SENT. ⟶ CE + être
[-tense] [-pred] [+tense] [+tense]

(27) Charlemagne gouvernait sur le plus grand empire. ⟶

(a) C'est Charlemagne qui gouvernait . . . .
(b) C'était Charlemagne qui gouvernait . . . .

(28) Louis XIV achèvera plus tard son oeuvre. ⟶

(a) C'est Louis XIV qui achèvera . . . .
(b) Ce sera Louis XIV qui achèvera . . . .

2. - Emphatic Insertion

2.1 - Data: besides (9), consider the following sentences:

(29a) Les soldats s'y refusèrent à cause de leur fatigue.
(29b) Les soldats, à cause de leur fatigue, s'y refusèrent.
(30a) Quand elle marche, Miss A. a l'air de suivre un défilé militaire.
(30b) Miss A., quand elle marche, a l'air de suivre un défilé militaire.
(31a) Pour plusieurs raisons, l'université a envisagé une solution radicale.
(31b) L'université a envisagé, pour plusieurs raisons, une solution radicale.
(32) Le premier ministre, tout en étant malade, s'obstinait à passer chaque jour ses quinze heures au bureau.
(33) Il dirige la grue qui, à l'arrière de son bateau, promène dans l'air les dix tonnes du petit sous-marin.
(34) Les journalistes attendaient, stylo en bataille, l'arrivée du célèbre acteur.
(35) Les enfants sortirent - quelle surprise! - de derrière les arbres.
(36) Le président N. - oui, c'est toujours lui! - leur a expliqué la guerre au Vietnam.

(37) Tout le monde y était; Pierre, lui, dormait toujours.
(38) L'imparfait décrit un événement comme une ligne, le passé simple, lui, l'indique comme un point.

2.2 - An analysis of the data shows that in (29b), (30b), (31b), there is a special emphasis that is absent from the corresponding (a) sentences. This emphasis seems to stem from the insertion of some element into the sentence, either after the subject or before the noun complement.[6]

The mechanism itself is rather easy to explain. The sentence nucleus, SV (C) is characterized by a high degree of cohesion. As a matter of principle, in non-emphatic sentences, only elements with zero stress or low stress value, most often one or two syllable words, occur between the three major components of that nucleus, as in "Marie ne lit pas le livre. Jean lui en donne beaucoup." The emphatic insertion represents a departure from this normal sentence pattern. The sentence nucleus is "broken up,"[7] and one element of the sentence, either the subject or the object, is detached and made to "stand out." Frequently there is a secondary emphasis on the inserted element, too.

It is more difficult to determine which elements can be considered "emphatic inserts." A definition relies on the criteria of pause, positional mobility and "normal," that is to say non-emphatic, occurrence in the sentence. Three major classes of potential emphatic inserts can be distinguished:

1. Sentence modifiers possess considerable positional mobility. They usually occur at the beginning or at the end of the sentence. They may however also occur within the sentence, as in (9), (29b), (30b), (31b), (33). They are then clearly set off from the surrounding sentence by pauses, and thus produce the effect of isolating and emphasizing.

2. The question is more complex with noun modifiers. Normally, noun modifiers follow, in French, the modified noun, as in "la maison rouge est belle. La maison que mon frère a achetée est belle," and no pause separates them from the modified noun. This pattern could be called modification of the noun by "conjunction." Noun modifiers in conjunction do not function as emphatic inserts. There is also a modification by "disjunction,"[8] as in "Inquiet, le roi se promenait dans les jardins du palais" or "M. Dupont, que vous connaissez, nous en a avertis ce matin.". Noun modifiers in disjunction are separated from the modified noun by a pause. Certain noun modifiers in disjunction occur only after the modified noun, such as the relative clause in apposition, or they usually occupy that position, as the noun in apposition: these can not be considered emphatic inserts. Certain others, however, can and frequently do occur in initial or final sentence position, as the gérondif, certain participle and adjective phrases or the so-called "pseudo-autonomous noun phrases": these will here be considered, when placed after the subject or before the noun complement, as emphatic inserts, as in (32) and (34).

3. Within a given sentence, phrases or whole sentences may be inserted that have no direct syntactic-functional relationship with the main sentence at all, as in (35) and (36). These will be called "unrelated insertions" (UI). They are set off by pauses from the surrounding main sentence. Their primary purpose seems to be, as Dessaintes points out,[9] the expression of a subjective reaction to, or a personal evaluation of what is stated in that part of the sentence that precedes the insertion. On the other hand, they seem to achieve an effect of isolation and emphasis similar to that of the sentence modifiers. With some reservations, one may thus consider them emphatic inserts.

The definition of the "emphatic insert" is so complex because one has to deal with a continuum in which functions and effects blend into each other. This taxonomic overlap is best illustrated by the gérondif which can be classified as a noun modifier in disjunction or a sentence modifier.

2.3 - The most general type of emphatic insertion can be represented as follows. The abbreviation "+sem" means that these insertions possess a meaning of their own, which distinguishes them from the type of insertion discussed below.

$$S \text{ -- } \underset{[+sem]}{INS} \text{ -- } V \text{ -- } \underset{[+sem]}{INS} \text{ -- } C \qquad INS \longrightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} SM/UI \\ NM \end{Bmatrix} \quad + \text{ sem} \quad \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ disj} \\ + \text{ pos mob} \end{bmatrix}$$

As (9) or (33) illustrate, the emphatic insertion may occur in subordinate clauses.

2.4 - A second, more specialized type of emphatic insertion is shown in sentences (37) and (38). It may be called "pronoun apposition" and serves to emphasize the subject of a sentence, most often, but not exclusively, a personal or personified subject:

$$S \text{ -- } \underset{[-sem]}{INS} \text{ -- } V\ (X) \qquad INS \longrightarrow \underset{[- sem]}{P.Pr.}$$

Contrary to the type of emphatic insertion previously described, the pronoun insert has no meaning of its own. Its only function is to isolate the subject, usually with the intention of establishing a contrast with the subject of the preceding sentence.

3. - Emphatic Disjunction[10]

3.1 - Data: besides (5), (6); (7), consider the following sentences:

(39a) Ton frère, il est fou.
(39b) Il est fou, ton frère.
(40a) Le football, ça se joue le dimanche après-midi.
(40b) Ca se joue le dimanche après-midi, le football.

(41a) Lui, on le reconnaîtra tout de suite.
(41b) On le reconnaîtra tout de suite, lui.
(42a) Les C.r.s., qui aime ça, hein?
(42b) Qui aime ça, hein, les C.r.s.?
(43a) Paul, Marie lui a déjà pardonné.
(43b) Marie lui a déjà pardonné, à Paul.
(44a) Ce truc-là, j'y tiens beaucoup.
(44b) J'y tiens beaucoup, à ce truc-là.
(45a) La voiture, Jean ne s'en sert jamais.
(45b) Jean ne s'en sert jamais, de la voiture.
(46) Aimer, c'est comprendre.
(47) Danser, c'est s'exprimer par le corps entier.
(48) Une limitation, c'est que le salaire ne doit pas être supérieur à 2000 francs.
(49) C'est ridicule ce que tu dis là.
(50) Un bon vin, c'est le couronnement d'un bon repas.
(51) Les noms de lieu, c'est un problème d'étymologie fascinant.
(52a) La vie d'un étudiant, c'est les conférences, les travaux pratiques, les thèmes, les examens.
(52b) La vie d'un étudiant, ce sont les conférences, les travaux pratiques, les thèmes, les examens.
(53) Ce n'est pas drôle, les bombardements.
(54a) C'est curieux, cette machine.
(54b) C'est curieux, ces machines.
(55) Le plus agréable, c'est la chaleur de la plage à midi.
(56a) Lui, c'est quelqu'un de très haut placé.
(56b) Lui, c'est quelqu'un, hein?
(57) Boire du vin, il ne le fait plus jamais.

3.2 - The disjunction detaches the element to be emphasized from the rest of the sentence. This disjointed element usually precedes or follows the sentence:

DISJ. E -- SENTENCE or: SENTENCE -- DISJ. E

French being a language in which grammatical completeness and explicitness are highly important, the element taken out of the sentence has to be replaced by a pro-form. According to the kind of pro-form used, four types of disjunction can be distinguished.

3.3 - Disjunction 1:

$$\text{PRO-FORM} \rightarrow \begin{cases} \text{P.Pr.}\ [\text{-stress}] & /\text{ça} \\ \text{y/en/prep. +P.Pr.} \end{cases} \qquad \text{E} \longrightarrow \text{S} \,/\, \underset{[\text{+spec}]}{\text{C}}$$

"+spec" signifies that the subject or object has a semantic referent which is something specific or considered as such, not a situation, a complex action or a generic thing as in the disjunction 2 below.

3.3.1- In a general form, the formula for disjunction 1 can be written as follows. (a) applies when E is the subject; (b) when E is a complement:

(a) E -- S [pr] + V (X) or: S [pr] + V (X) -- E

(b) E -- S [pr] + C + V (X) or: S [pr] + C + V (X) -- prep E

3.3.2- With regard to the position of E and its syntactic behavior, the following rules can be stated:

1. If E is the subject or the direct object complement of the base sentence, the initial and the final position are syntactically treated alike, as in (39a,b), (40a,b), (41a,b) and (42a,b).
2. If, on the contrary, E is a complement preceded by a preposition, and that includes the indirect object, the preposition is deleted in initial position, but not in final position. The pro-form reflects the prepositional object in both cases, as in (43a,b), (44a,b) or 45a,b).
3. If E is an object clause, the initial position seems to be preferred for the simple reason that a final position would be too close to the normal base sentence pattern:
   (58) Que vous soyez un jour président, je l'espère de tout mon coeur.
   (59) Qu'il se suiciderait, tout le monde en était convaincu.

3.4 - Disjunction 2:

PRO-FORM $\longrightarrow$ CE E $\longrightarrow$ S [-spec]

3.4.1- This device is highly specialized. It only emphasizes the subject of a sentence whose verb is the copulative "être," and only a subject that is not a specific noun or a noun with a specific semantic referent. Otherwise, the disjunction 1 would apply as in (39).

E -- CE + V [cop] + C [pred]

In positive terms, the element that is emphasized by disjunction 2 is an infinitive, as in (46) or (47), or a clause, as in (48) and also in (49). Now, as Rosenberg points out,[12] in many cases the surface structure does not contain an infinitive, but only a noun, as in (50), (51), (52), or (53). An underlying infinitive is then to be assumed, for example in (50) "boire un bon vin...," (51) "étudier les noms de lieu...," (52) "vivre la vie d'un étudiant...," (53) "souffrir les bombardements...." In other cases, Rosenberg argues,[13] the noun subject of the surface structure stands for something more global that is to be assumed as the underlying element, something like a

summarizing "et tout cela," for example in (54) "la manière dont elle(s) fonctionne(nt) et tout cela." A similar argument would apply to (55), where "le plus agréable" stands for something like "le plus agréable de ce qu'on éprouve."

3.4.2- If the predicate is a plural noun, the verb can be either singular or plural as in (52a,b).

E -- CE + V + Pred.N
[sing] [sing] [pl]

or:

E -- CE + V + Pred. N
[sing] [pl] [pl]

3.5- Disjunction 3:

PRO-FORM ⟶ CE E ⟶ S
[+ spec]

3.5.1- The pro-form "ce" is also used with a specific referent-type subject, as in (56). Here, too, the verb of the base sentence is the copulative "être." The predicate is always individualized, either explicitly through a particularizing determiner or a modifier as in (56a), or implicitly through the context as in (56b). It is the same condition which determines the pronominalization transformation "il/elle ⟶ ce" in non-emphatic sentences like "Paul est un bon professeur ⟶ Il est un bon professeur ⟶ C'est un bon professeur."

3.5.2- If the predicate is a plural noun, the verb "être" is usually in the plural. Compare the following two sentences:

(60) Marie et Paul, c'est un couple sympathique.
(61) Marie et Paul, ce sont nos bons amis.

3.6- Disjunction 4:

PRO-FORM ⟶ LE + FAIRE E ⟶ V

The disjunction 4 applies exclusively to the verb and its complement, if there is any. The verb is replaced by the neutral verb "faire." "Faire" being a transitive verb, a formal direct object, "le," which refers to no specific grammatical antecedent, is also required, as in (57). The formula for disjunction 4 could be written:

V (X) -- S + LE + FAIRE (Y)

4. - The three devices of emphasis with their various sub-types assume really two functions at the same time: they emphasize and they introduce stylistic variety within the rigid framework of the French sentence. Both functions are, and have always been, highly important in French. This is perhaps the most plausible explanation for their frequent and wide-spread use at all levels of speech.

NOTES

[1] See for example Walter von Wartburg - Paul Zumthor, Précis de syntaxe du français contemporain, 2e éd. (Berne: Francke, 1958), p. 173-178; Georges Le Bidois - Robert Le Bidois, Syntaxe du français moderne, t.II, 2e éd., Paris: Picard, 1968, p. 50 - 52, p. 59 - 64, p. 67 - 69; Albert Dauzat, Grammaire raisonnée de la langue française, 5e éd. (Lyon - Paris: IAC, 1947), p. 425 ff; Jean Paul Vinay et Jean Louis Darbelnet, Stylistique comparée du français et de l'anglais. Méthode de traduction, Nouv. éd. (Paris: Didier, 1964), p. 207 - 212. A rich collection of examples is found in Ferdinand Brunot, La Pensée et la langue, 3e éd. (Paris: Masson, 1965), see the index, p. 926 under "Mise en lumière."

[2] The SV inversion will not be treated here. As a device of emphasis it seems to be limited today to literary language. A number of other devices, such as "quant à, en ce qui concerne, pour, pour ce qui est de, comme" (as in "C'est beau comme plan!") are of limited interest from a syntactical point of view.

[3] Besides those terms and abbreviations explained in the text and those of common usage like: subject, S, verb, V, direct object, d. Obj., predicate, pred., adjective, A, (personal) pronoun, (p)pr., two terms will be used with a special meaning: "Complement," C, denotes here any element required by the verb to be syntactically complete. Formally speaking, it can be a noun, pronoun, adjective, adverb, infinitive or noun clause; functionally speaking, it can be a predicate, a direct, an indirect or a prepositional object. "Sentence modifier," SM, is used here to designate an element that is syntactically optional and that adds circumstancial information concerning time, place, intention, etc. to the message contained in the sentence nucleus. Formally, sentence modifiers can be adverbs, noun phrases, prepositional infinitives or adverb clauses. SM as it is used here, should thus not be confused with the same term as used often in transformational grammar. For a more detailed discussion of these terms and of problems of descriptive apparatus and terminology, see my paper on "A Model for the Teaching of Advanced Syntax in a Foreign Language," PNCFL 1975.

[4] "Emphatic Sentence" denotes here only a sentence in which, through the application of a device of emphasis, one or two elements are made to "stand out." It does not denote utterances that belong to emphatic speech in general, such as exclamations, imperatives, etc.

[5] A sentence like "C'est le monsieur que vous avez cherché" is ambiguous, at least in writing. It may be derived from an underlying (a) "Vous avez cherché le monsieur (et non la dame)" or (b) "Vous avez cherché un monsieur. Ce monsieur est celui-là." In spoken language, the heavier stress on E in the emphatic sentence marks the difference quite clearly.

[6] It is surprising to observe that this device, in spite of its frequency is not discussed as a device of emphasis either by Le Bidois - Le Bidois, or by Dauzat. Wartburg - Zumthor devote approximately twelve lines to it.

7 Frédéric Deloffre, La Phrase française (Paris: Société d'édition d'enseignement supérieur, 1967), p. 134 uses the term "phrase morcelée" to characterize the effect. However, no explanation or description of the phenomenon is offered.

8 I intend to discuss noun modification by disjunction in a future paper.

9 Cf. Maurice Dessaintes, La Construction par incise incidente (Etude grammaticale et stylistique). (Paris: d'Artrey, 1960), p. 19.

10 The device is commonly called "dislocation," also sometimes "segmentation," as in Wartburg - Sumthor, Précis de syntaxe, p. 176. I prefer "disjunction" because "dislocation," to me, denotes a general phenomenon that reaches from poetic language ("De son courroux soyez certaine") to popular constructions ("Un beau garçon elle a").

11 It is not clear to me why Le Bidois - Le Bidois, Syntaxe, p. 59 - 62 , go to such lengths to distinguish between what they call "dislocation par anticipation" and "dislocation par reprise" when, at the same time, they do not clearly establish the much more crucial distinction between the different pro-forms.

12 Cf. Samuel N. Rosenberg, Modern French CE. The Neuter Pronoun in Adjectival Predication (The Hague - Paris: Mouton, 1970), in particular p. 65.

13 Ibid., p. 100ff.

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NON-DETERMINISTIC CONTEXT AND ASPECT CHOICE IN RUSSIAN

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0. Introduction

In any given context, a Russian verb form may be either perfective or imperfective.[1] Perfective aspect signals the completion or result of an action, whereas imperfective does not. It is a well-known fact that aspect choice--perfective or imperfective--is a function of context.[2] Two types of context are distinguished: deterministic and non-deterministic. The form without exception requires one aspect type and not the other, e.g., bud- 'shall/will' which, if combined with an infinitive, disallows perfective aspect. Statistically, deterministic context is of marginal or no interest as it is 100% predictable. On the other hand, non-deterministic context does not offer yes-or-no information as to aspect choice, e.g., včera večerom on . . . so svoimi druz'jami 'he . . . with his friends yesterday evening.' The characteristics of this type of context have been widely surmised but not systematically examined in the published literature. Besides its strong research appeal, the teaching and learning values of such a study are obvious, especially as aspect is a most elusive grammatical phenomenon which has defied even the most serious attempts at mastery. As aspect choice is a function of interactive rather than isolated context clues, no traditional descriptive system can reveal its nature. What is advocated and demonstrated in the present examination is a framework for the examination of aspect choice over a statistically valid corpus in conjunction with methodically controlled non-deterministic context types.

This paper is part of a larger study whose aim is to arrive at a contextual definition of aspect choice which will include both deterministic and non-deterministic context types.[3]

1. Context-Aspect Interdependence and its Quantification

In our study of grammatical categories we very often would like to know whether occurrence of one category partially or entirely presupposes occurrence of another. If this is the case, we can begin to think in terms of dependence of one category on another. This dependence is readily translatable into statistical terms since counts of occurrences of grammatical variables can be collected and juxtaposed. It is at this juncture that a bona fide method is needed in order to assist in determining whether or not one grammatical category depends on another and if this be the case, to provide an indication of the extent (degree) of that dependence. In attempting to quantify qualitative data, the most difficult and most important task is to settle on a simple yet adequate method, one which will help bring out the relationships inherent in our data but which will create no new ones. For when caution in selecting from among the plethora of statistical tools available is not exercised, one sooner or later runs the risk of spurious conclusions.

Before any quantitative analysis may be seriously undertaken, the linguistic investigator's principal responsibility is to determine carefully which scale of measurement is suitable to his data. Most commonly, four types of scales are distinguished; in ascending order of strength they are: nominal, ordinal, interval, and ratio.[4] By oversimplifying somewhat, the differences among these four scales may be summarized as follows:

(1) Nominal scale. When utilizing this scale it is possible to say that one object is different from another and nothing else.

(2) Ordinal scale. It is possible to say that one object is bigger or better or more of something than another.

(3) Interval scale. It is possible to say how many units of difference exist between one object and another.

(4) Ratio scale. It is possible to say how many times one object is different from another (and an absolute zero exists).

Of these four, the nominal is most naturally suited to our data. We may, clearly, claim that our data describe objects which are different from each other. In this sense, for example, the perfective and imperfective aspects are certainly different entities. So are the various contexts under investigation. Since we are in no position to say how much bigger or better one entity is than another, the ordinal scale remains inaccessible to us. So do the interval and ratio scales which, of course, make more powerful assumptions.

Once the appropriate scale has been selected and all occurrences in a given sample have been tabulated in mutually exclusive categories, one is ready for the next important step: selecting the correct statistical tool. The nominal scale, although the simplest of the four scales, offers a variety of tests. Choosing from among them may not always be an easy task: a good tool enables the investigator to find answers to his queries; a superior one, in addition, raises previously unsuspected questions. Thus, after obtaining counts for mutually exclusive grammatical categories, one must have a method for finding out whether these categories are interdependent. Several statistical texts of dependency, or association, are available. Some make stronger assumptions than others. We must make sure that the ones we use are well-suited to the nature of our data. Having determined the correct scale for our data is analogous to knowing whether one is dealing with liquids, solids, or gases. For example, as liquid measures must be used for liquids, so must nominal scale measures be used for nominal data. It is necessary, in other words, to make certain the right tool is used. From among several statistical tests for dependence or, as we would say, relatedness among grammatical categories, I have chosen the chi-square because of its flexibility: it can be used to test for dependence not only between just two categories as does, for example, the z-score but also among any number of categories. The value of the chi-square has been widely acknowledged and mathematical statisticians have designed refinements so that even the illusion of continuity is imparted in what is truly discrete data (see 3. below).

Thus, we wish to test whether a given context has anything to do with aspect choice. We assume that if there is a strong tendency for one aspect type to occur in the presence of a given context, it must be attributed to statistical dependence between that context and that aspect type. Such dependence can be referred to as relatedness. Whenever we suspect that aspect and a given context are related, we would like to test whether our suspicions are justified or not. We then resort to a chi-square test. The counts common to both variables are what we start with. This is one way, perhaps the only really objective way, via which we may discover something about the interrelationships of identifiable grammatical variables.

2. Applying the Chi-square

Now that the requisite methodological preliminaries have been decided upon, the statistical tool we have chosen can be put to the service of our linguistic aims. The sample--a corpus of 100,000 running words recorded from the Russian language broadcasts of the Voice of America--provides the material for the testing of our hypothesis. The infinitive is arbitrarily chosen as a point of departure. Exhaustive counts of its aspectual distribution are obtained from the sample. They are as follows:

	Inf (initive)
P (erfective)	524
I (mperfective)	305

After comparing these figures there is actually nothing to prevent one from drawing certain obvious conclusions. This is, in fact, how numerical information is occasionally interpreted in word counts. One conclusion to be drawn is that the P Inf is more frequent, or that the Inf and P are related. The two parts of the disjunctive statement are really two separate conclusions. Whereas the latter may imply the former, the converse is not necessarily true. Thus, if we accept the first conclusion, we may be inclined to expect that whenever an infinitive form occurs in our sample, the aspect unit will be perfective about 63% of the time. There is nothing wrong with such a statement. But to proceed to the statement that this is evidence that infinitive and perfective are related is patently false: in order to really answer this question of relatedness, we must develop the idea of expected frequencies. Understanding the role expected frequencies play means that we have understood the function and value of the chi-square test.

We note that in a corpus such as the Voice of America news broadcasts, where most related events have already taken place, the past tense, and the P past tense in particular, should be predominant. This means that a context variable will have a better chance to occur with P than with I. Thus, in the case of our Inf counts, one may ask whether the P - I distribution reflects overall aspectual characteristics rather than genuine context - aspect relatedness. Stated differently, we question the P predominance in the Inf as spurious, i.e., we suspect there is a good chance that the figures are influenced by the nature of the corpus. Thus, it becomes clear at this point that we are in no position to claim that P and Inf are related. To

state that P and Inf occur more frequently than I and Inf is, of course, an empirical fact. Yet, despite overall corpus trends, is it possible that the figures may conceal some special significance vis-à-vis aspect choice? This is a capital point. It is this question which the chi-square test will not only resolve but, in addition, will offer an indication of the degree of significance as well.[5]

At this point, it becomes necessary to devise some means for comparison. We wish to compare the Inf P - I distribution to one which would not necessarily involve the presence of the Inf. This is analogous to inviting an impartial party to settle a dispute. We turn to the aspectual distribution of the entire corpus: if, in the given instance, the Inf has something to do with aspect distribution, the latter must be significantly different from the overall P - I distribution. This brings us to the rationale of the expected frequencies. These are an indication of the collective aspectual distribution, i.e., not taking only specific contexts, but all contexts in the entire corpus into consideration. The advantage of the expected frequencies is that, as they are given in proportion form, they offer an excellent basis for comparison with the observed frequencies or counts of any context. Thus, in our corpus there were 417 P and 2425 I forms, Proportionatly 63.2% of the aspect forms in our corpus were P and 36.7% were I. We use this fact to calculate the expected frequencies for the Inf example cited earlier:

	O (bserved)	E (xpected)
P	524	524
I	305	304
Total	829	828

That both O and E show identical or nearly identical distributions is the exception rather than the rule. Indeed, of all context variables examined, Inf is the only one whose expected distribution equals the observed. These figures, as they have been rounded off from 523.9 for P and 304.2 for I, reflect only approximate values. Such small discrepancies are therefore to be regarded as legitimate. Because we are dealing with discrete data, frequencies are always discussed in terms of whole numbers.

The E frequencies show what the actual P - Inf distr bution would be if the Inf had no special effect on the aspect distribution. Further, since the E and O frequencies are so close, we can intuitively accept the proposition that Inf and aspect choice are not related. However, could the same conclusion have been drawn if the E frequencies were not identical or even approximately the same? E.g., the aspectual distribution of čto-clause and aspect is as follows:

	O	E	O - E
P	670	692	-22
I	425	402	+23
Total	1095	1094	

Provided that all things are equal and that čto has no special effect on aspect distribution, we would expect that about 692 cases should be P and about 402 cases I.[6] Note the difference--22 occurrences--between the E and O frequencies. Is this differenee significant? Our intuition abandons us here.

It is tempting to compare the O and E frequencies and thus rush to a conclusion. Yet we must take other factors into consideration. A difference between O and E may be attributable to chance variation. In order to clarify this, we present the following illustration: suppose we toss a coin 100 times: 50 times it turns up heads and 50 times tails. Upon performing the experiment additional times, we observe the following heads-to-tails distribution: 47-53, 45-55, 40-60, 30-70. Since none except the first experiment yielded a 50-50 distribution, are we to say that the coin is 'loaded' (unfair, biased, dishonest)? Could some amount of variation be due to chance alone? That is, if we were to keep on tossing indefinitely and then average the number of outcomes, is it not possible that a 50-50 split might result in the long run? This may turn out to be the case for the 47-53 or 45-55 or even for the 40-60; but certainly not for the 30-70 and in this case we may begin to doubt the 'fairness' of the coin. Here is where we say that the coin is 'biased', since it does not show an approximate 50-50 split. In the coin experiment, a 50-50 split was the basis for our expectations. Fair coins, if tossed enough times, will, on the average, show such a heads-to-tails distribution. Similarly in the distribution of our sample: our expectation must be based on a large number of experiments, on many observations. Instead of tosses we deal with aspect forms; just as the tossed coins could turn up heads or tails, the aspect forms (in a single occurrence) can be disjointly either P or I. The principal assumption here is that collective linear context is responsible for aspect choice. Since theoretically this assumption may not hold for a given context variable, we formulate what is known as the null hypothesis: the apparent aspect - context relationship is due to chance alone, i.e., the O and E differences in a given aspectual distribution are not significant; or that the given context variable (s) has/have no effect on aspect choice. The advantage of the null hypothesis is that our data are given a chance to prove whether context and aspect choice are statistically independent (or unrelated).

We are now ready to turn our attention to the specific and non-trivial question of whether either the infinitive or the čto-clause may have any effect on aspect choice. We must continue and conclude the chi-square procedure. Applying the chi-square formula,[7] for infinitive and aspect choice, we have:

	$\frac{O}{}$	$\frac{E}{}$	$\frac{O-E}{}$	$\frac{(O-E)^2}{}$	$\frac{(O-E)^2/E}{}$
P	524	524	0	0	0
I	305	304	0	1	1
Total	829	828		chi-square	= 0.0

and for the čto and aspect choice:

	O	E	O - E	$(O - E)^2$	$(O - E)^2 / E$
P	670	692	-22	484	.7
I	425	402	+23	529	1.3
Total	1095	1094			chi-square = 2.0

The obtained chi-square value (0.0 for the infinitive[8] and 2.0 for čto) is compared against a table of chi-square values usually found in the appendix of most statistics textbooks. The level of confidence, taken to be 5% for this study, means that we are 95% sure that in rejecting the null hypothesis we are acting correctly, i.e., we are taking one chance out of 20 of being mistaken. Thus both our obtained infinitive and čto-clause chi-square values are less than 3.8, the chi-square value at .05 level of significance with one degree of freedom (cf. discussion below). This means that the null hypothesis must not be rejected, which in turn indicates that infinitive and aspect choice as well as čto-clause and aspect choice are statistically independent, i.e., they are not related. Put differently, neither the infinitive form nor čto-clauses can be said to have any effect on aspect choice.

3. Degrees of Freedom and the Yates Correction for Continuity

Statistical tools can always be improved upon. One refinement of the chi-square concerns the concepts of degrees of freedom and Yates' correction for continuity. There are several ways one might go about developing the concept of 'degrees of freedom.' For our purposes, however, it will be quite sufficient to grasp the following simple illustration:

Suppose two objects, A and B, are presented to you. You are to choose between them. Irrespective of which one of the two you select, your freedom of choice is gone the moment your selection is made since there will be nothing left to choose from. How many choices did you have? Or, equivalently, "how many degrees of freedom did you have?" Obviously, only one. Thus, whenever a choice between two objects may be made, only one degree of freedom is involved.[9] This was the case with our example of infinitive and aspect choice on the one hand and čto-clauses and aspect choice on the other. In these cases one context variable and aspect choice are involved. It will be noted that the degrees of freedom increase as the number of context variables increases.[10] This fact is important in obtaining correct chi-square values from a chi-square table. Moreover, whenever one degree of freedom is involved, it is advisable to make use of the so-called Yates Correction for Continuity.[11] The purpose of this correction is to avoid obtaining chi-squares which are slightly too high. The Yates Correction amounts to reducing the O - E discrepency by .5 before squaring it, unless (O - E) has an absolute value less than .25.

4. Summary

The importance of establishing the scale of measurement suitable to the data and selecting a method appropriate to the scale of measurement cannot be overemphasized. This method must not create any non-existing

relationships, but it must bring those which do exist into clear focus. For our nominally scaled data, the chi-square is an applicable and acceptable method. I have endeavored to provide the intuitive background necessary for understanding and appreciating the usefulness, relevance, and applicability of the chi-square test in the study of aspect choice. It goes without saying that the mathematical proof of the chi-square test and its ramifications are not requisites for grasping its basic assumptions and are beyond the scope of this brief discussion.

To sum up: comparing the O Inf and čto-clauses P - I frequency distribution before making use of the chi-square test, we saw what appeared to be a P relationship. The chi-square, however, by showing the difference between O and E frequencies to be insignificant as it fell within chance variation, enabled us to regard the apparent Inf - P and čto- clause P relationships as spurious. Further, we were able to discriminate between one and more than one degrees of freedom. In the former case the Yates Correction for Continuity was found to be a required improvement to our chi-square procedure. A test which takes into consideration so many factors and yet makes no unreasonable assumptions about the nature of our data is certainly of great value. The great import of the chi-square test for the study of aspect choice is abundantly clear. What is now called for is a systematic examination of aspect choice based on a corpus both valid statistically and representative of contemporary Russian. The value of the final results to learning and teaching Russian as well as to further research can, at this stage, only be anticipated.

NOTES

[1] Research on this project was funded in part by a grant from the University of Idaho Research Council.

[2] I.P. Mucnik, in his Grammatičeskie kategorii glagola i imeni v sovremennom russkom literaturnom jazyke (Moskva: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka," 19/1), p. 130, among a few others, argues that there exist contexts which offer no decisive evidence in the disambiguation of biaspectuals. It is true that linear context, especially without the aid of statistical tools, not unlike the unaided eye, cannot assist in determining aspect choice. Situational context, however, should always enable unambiguous determination of aspect choice.

[3] Cf. Demetrius J. Koubourlis, "Preliminaries to the Automated Statistical Investigation of the Aspect System in Russian," Papers in Linguistics, 1,2 (1969), 371-90, and Demetrius J. Koubourlis, "Deterministic Context and Russian Biaspectuals," Studies in Slavic Morphology, ed. Koubourlis and Naylor. (Bloomington, Ind.: Slavica Publishers, 1975).

[4] Cf. Sheldon G. Levy, Inferential Statistics in the Behavioral Sciences (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968), pp. 146-50, and Virginia L. Senders, Measurement and Statistics, a Basic Text Emphasizing Behavioral Science Applications (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), pp. 50-69.

[5] It is conceivable that teaching and learning about the intricacies of aspect choice will be restricted to a qualitative level, i.e. to the

practical value of merely asserting the presence or absence of context - aspect choice relatedness. Beyond this level, however, the availability of the chi-square's degree of significance, or relative strength, can provide the impetus for a quantitatively-based typology of context.

6 Note also that the E and O totals are either equal or approximately equal. For correct application of the chi-square test, it is important that they are at least approximately equal.

7 $x^2=\sum^{k}\frac{(O-E)^2}{E}$ where k stands for the number of categories over which the summation is made.

8 In our sample, it turns out that the Inf--a tenseless form--and aspect choice are not related, but that all forms with either dependent or independent tense context-variables are indeed related.

9 Normally chi-square is not used when the degree of freedom = 1. Instead, the z-score (the number of standard errors by which the sample proportion differs from the population proportion: $z=\frac{p-P}{\sqrt{PQ/N}}$) method is more convenient (cf. Senders, Measurement and Statistics, pp. 404-5, 409). However, since in this study I deal with varying degrees of freedom, as when more than one context variable is involved, and since the chi-square, when the degree of freedom equals one, is identical to the square of the z-score method, I considered it inadvisable to burden the linguistic reader with an additional statistic. Statistical elegance is not my aim. Rather, I strive for statistically valid results which are linguistically meaningful.

10 Constructing contingency tables for one, two, three . . . context variables

(a)

		CV_1	
		O	E
	P		
	I		

(b)

		CV_1		CV_2	
		O	E	O	E
	P				
	I				

(c)

		CV_1		CV_2		CV_3	
		O	E	O	E	O	E
	P						
	I						

we note that the number of cells is crucial for determining the number of degrees of freedom. A formula has been developed which facilitates finding the correct number: degrees of freedom = (rows - 1) (columns - 1). Thus for (a), the answer is (2-1) (2-1) = 1, for (b), (2-1) (4-1) = 3, and for (c), (2-1) (6-1) = 5.

11 Cf., e.g., Senders, Measurement and Statistics, pp. 418-9, and Solomon Diamond, Information and Error, an Introduction to Statistical Analysis (New York: Basic Books, 1959), p. 154.

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NATURAL GENERATIVE PHONOLOGY: EVIDENCE FROM SPANISH

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The standard generative-transformational model for phonology, henceforth referred to as Abstract Generative Phonology (AGP) has been continually changed and refined since Chomsky and Halle and their students began its development in the early 60's.[1] Some of the changes in the model are basic. For example, Kiparsky's absolute neutralization principle was perhaps one of the first radical suggestions for change in the model and has been termed by some to have been the impetus for new phonological models.[2] The rule ordering controversy, which is the main focus of this paper, has become so intense that it is difficult to speak of one AGP model.[3] Certain investigations of Theo Venneman in the late 60's led him to posit so many revisions in the standard model that these revisions came to be considered to constitute an alternate generative theory which he termed Natural Generative Phonology (NGP).[4] Since that time there has been an explosion of research, applying this model NGP to old data trying to show that the model itself makes correct preditions about phonological systems, phonological change, language acquisition, etc. which AGP cannot make.[5] In addition, most of the research in phonological variation and the resulting analyses, such as Labov's work, have been within the constraints of NGP and not AGP, although this has not usually been explicitly pointed out by the researchers themselves.[6]

Most of the controversy within phonological theory today centers around two questions.[7] First, are there empirical differences between what in structuralist terminology were called morphophonemic alternations and allophonic variation? And secondly, what are the universal constraints on the ordering of phonological processes within the phonological rule component? I will assume that the answer to the first question, notwithstanding Postal's elegant but incorrect demonstration to the contrary,[8] is an emphatic yes. There is overwhelming evidence to support this position;[9] indeed, this was the position of the structuralists, both European and American. Much ink has been spilled with regard to the question of rule ordering. Without the possibility of extrinsic rule ordering, i.e., ordering imposed by the linguist, many, if not most, of the AGP analyses are impossible. The simplest assumption, tacitly made by most structuralists, was that rules were unordered, that is, a rule applies each time its structural description is met. Any additional complication in the phonological metatheory has to be based on hard empirical evidence, which must include more than notions of formal simplicity. I would claim that there is none.

Indeed, I would further claim that the assumption of extrinsic rule ordering possibilities has created an environment in which linguists have constructed "elegant" but psychologically meaningless solutions. Many have claimed that there was a wealth of data, but little theoretical structure to interpret that data. For phonology, at least, the reverse seems to be true. We know very little about the major phonological processes of English (or any other language for that matter), and are a long way from being able to specify the form of the rules or their contexts of application.[10]

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In using data from Spanish, I have two purposes in mind. First, I would like to illustrate a possible NGP analysis vis-a-vis the AGP one. Secondly, I will show that the No Ordering Hypothesis of NGP forces the linguist to choose from a restricted set of analyses whose phonological rules are transparent from the phonetic level. I will claim that this theoretical constraint, in reality a strong constraint on abstractness, corresponds to a cognitive constraint of a language learner. If we assume that only rules which are completely motivated on the phonetic level are possible, once the phonetic motivation for the rule is obscured in any way, the underlying forms are changed and the rule is morphologicalized. This hypothesis has, then, empirical consequences which can be tested by analyzing data from cases of language change. I will examine two cases of this type.

Stress assignment was perhaps the most impressive part of Chomsky and Halle's Sound Pattern of English,[11] and it was not unreasonable to expect their students to apply the same technique to the Romance languages. By technique, I mean roughly the following. First, one determines stress assignment for the majority of lexical items, which for Spanish turns out to be penultimate. Then since the hypothesis is that stress assignment applies to underlying forms, one must posit forms such that stress assignment will be penultimate at this abstract level. The underlying forms should, even in AGP, have independent motivation, which for those working with this model means that the abstract form would have to be posited independently of the stress assignment rule. Unfortunately these independent motivations were mostly dependent on each other; quite often, there is such an intricate maze of abstract forms and rules that it is difficult to argue against any one part of the analysis without affecting the entire structure. The Sound Pattern of English is a perfect example of this type of construction. As John Ohala noted (p. 269):[12]

> It has been established that one could analyze phonological data as reflecting underlying ordered rules or that things are neater or more elegant if one assumes that there are ordered rules, but this is not the same thing as showing that speakers--not the linguist--but the speakers themselves have and actually do make use of significantly complex ordering of rules. Indeed, in many cases, it has not even been established that the rules themselves are part of the speakers' knowledge.

Let me then briefly sketch the AGP stress rule analysis.

Stress assignment for Spanish within an AGP analysis is said to be correlated with the syllable types of (abstract) underlying forms. The rules, posited first by Foley[13] and later extended and revised considerably by Harris[14] assign stress (a) to the penultimate syllable if this syllable contains a long vowel (using abstract "length" or "tenseness") or in closed syllables and (b) to the antipenultimate syllable if the penultimate syllable is short (or lax). Most of the discussion in these analyses was concentrated around motivating (1) the abstract feature "tense" and (2) various non-surface segments added to words with syllable final stress in order to make stress assignment penultimate.

For example, in order to assign to words such as lástima 'pity' with antipenultimate stress, the penultimate syllable must be minus [tense]. There must be a rule extrinsically ordered after stress assignment to adjust real phonetic tension, as opposed to the abstract tension used to assign stress. Harris in his latest APG analysis of stress argues against such a use of the feature "tense" and proposes instead a simple diacritic feature "X". This amounts to the claim that stress assignment to either the penultimate or antipenultimate syllable is arbitrary and must be learned item by item by the native speaker. This claim is undoubtedly correct.[15]

The addition of final segments occurs mostly in verb forms, especially the preterite tense and the infinitive and in nouns and adjectives which end in a consonant. Thus, the infinitive hablar 'to speak', for example, is claimed to have an associated underlying form /arblare/ to which penultimate stress is assigned with subsequent final /e/ deletion. Or a form such as habló 'spoke' is said to have the underlying form /ablau/ with stress assigned to the penultimate /a/ and later rules changing the sequence /a/ + u/ to /o/.

/hablau/

á Stress
o Quality Assimilation
Ø Diphthongization Simplification

There is no phonologically productive rule in Spanish which assimilates /a/ to /o/, cf. automóbil and countless other words. The so-called independent motivation for the rule is that there exists a few pairs of words in which /au/ and /o/ alternate: aurífero 'golden' and oro 'gold'. Since it is assumed (not empirically shown) that these pairs must have one underlying form, it logically follows that there must exist a phonological rule /au/ —, /o/, and that therefore, one is presumably free to posit /au/ to underlie /o/ in any case. The independent motivation for this in verb form is that it regularizes stress placement.

Within NGP such an analysis is impossible since stress assignment may not be extrinsically ordered before any other phonological rule. Therefore, we must predict stress, if indeed it is predictable, from the phonetic surface forms. Specifically, NGP claims that this is what native speakers do. Certain predictions follow from this hypothesis. First, the NGP analysis: In another paper, Joan Hooper and I[16] present considerable evidence that stress assignment in Spanish is correlated mostly with surface morphological categories. We show that:

(a) for nouns and adjectives the penultimate or final syllable of a stem is stressed (the difference must be individually learned as Harris suggested):

$$\text{camín}]_{\text{stem}} \quad + \text{o}] \text{ cv} \quad (+\text{s})] \text{ pl}$$

cartél] stem (+ e)] cv (+ s)] pl

colibrí] stem (+ e)] cv (+ s)] pl

(b) for verbs, stress (with the exception of first and second person plural forms of the present tense) is correlated with tense:

(1) subsequent tenses (future and conditional) are stressed two syllables after the stem:

camin] stem + arémos future (4)

camin] stem + aríamos conditional (4)

(2) nonpresent and nonfinite tenses are stressed on the syllable immediately following the stem:

camin] stem + é preterite (3)

camin] stem + ár infinitive

camin] stem + ábamos imperfect (5)

camin] stem + ásen imperfect subjunctive (6)

camin] stem + ándo gerund

(3) present tenses are stressed on the final syllable of the stem:

camín] stem + o present indicative (1)

camín] stem + en present subjunctive (6)

At this point, I do not wish to become bogged down in details; however, we attempt to show as supporting evidence that plural formation follows automatically from our rules for stress assignment. We show, for example that the seemingly erratic behavior of a final /s/ phoneme for stress assignment is actually regular if the assignment is made on morphological terms. Thus, the speaker knows that the work ciprés 'cypress' carries final stress since /pres/ is the final syllable of the stem. He also adds /es/ to this stem to form the plural without affecting stress. On the other hand, the penultimate syllable of carteles 'posters' is stressed because /tel/ is the stem final syllable. It is important to note that NGP forces us to make a morphological analysis, since a phonological analysis is impossible from the surface data. We claim that this mirrors exactly what happened historically. The Latin stress rule was phonologically correlated. However, as soon as the length distinctions for vowels were changed or merged in some cases, the phonological motivation for stress assignment was no longer available to the speakers and they were forced to adopt a morphological analysis. But with a morphological analysis there

were many irregularities which had to be memorized. For example, the first person plural forms of the imperfect subjunctive amáramos and amásemos and the imperfect indicative amábamos were perfectly regular from a penultimate point of view but irregular from a morphological point of view. Irregularities tend to get eliminated. This is, of course, exactly what happened; a very strange event if speakers were still analyzing the stress assignment in terms of the penultimate rule. The present tense forms are still exceptional in Modern Spanish, but there is evidence that in certain dialects even these have been partially regularized.[17]

Saporta in a widely quoted article[18] in one of the earlier attempts to apply Halle's suggestions for explanation using extrinsically ordered rules claimed that in Uruguayan Spanish there was a rule which opened vowels in closed syllables or at least before word final /s/. He also posited a rule which categorically deleted /s/ in word final position. He claimed that on the phonetic level there was a contrast between singular and plural forms solely on the basis of open vs. closed vowels, i.e. niño [niño] vs. [niño] "child/children". Saporta posits two extrinsically ordered rules to account for these data:

(1) e - ɛ / ⟶ s
(2) s - ∅ / ⟶ #

The source of information given by Saporta was an article by Vasquez.[19] One goes to the Vasquez article looking for data on which Saporta has based his claims. Much to the researcher's surprise (naive linguist that he is), there is no direct data in the article.

In fact, one finds that there has never been a serious study (spectrographic or otherwise) of the vowels of Uruguayan Spanish, nor has anyone ever systematically studied aspiration and deletion in Uruguayan speech. One does find a reference[20] to Navarro-Tomás for the "same phenomenon" in Andalusian Spanish. One then goes to Navarro-Tomás, for a study of Andalusian Spanish. There is none, of course; Navarro-Tomás has merely pointed out a tendency to open vowels in certain positions and to eliminate the word final /s/ and he adds certain speculations on the possibility of future developments concerning vowel contrasts. Andalusian was subsequently studied in some detail by Dámaso Alonso[21] and others and these data have been analyzed by Hooper.[22] These later studies by Alonso were not used by Saporta, however, as far as I can tell.

I have no direct data from Uruguayan Spanish, but there are other dialects in which aspiration and deletion of word final /s/ are common. Cedergren, for Panamanian Spanish, Ma and Herasimchuk for Puerto Rican Spanish and Terrell for Cuban Spanish [23] have analyzed many hours of recorded speech in informal interviews with native speakers and have shown that the process in question is not one but two, and that aspiration and deletion are variable rules with different variable constraints. In none of the dialects studied is the rule even nearly categorical. The constraints are both phonological and grammatical (as well as extralinguistic). For Deletion (defined as h → Ø) the process is highly constrained by grammatical

factors, the most important of which is the preservation of the singular-plural distinction. Two tables of data from the Cuban study are sufficient to illustrate this claim.

TABLE I: Noun Plurals

N = 7149	_____C	_____V	_____11
Modified previously	45%	63%	78%
Norm (all cases examined)	23%	40%	65%
Unmodified	11%	20%	38%

The results are clear--the frequency of deletion is very high if the noun is preceded by a modifier which causes a plural indicator. If the noun is unmodified, the deletion rate is very low. Note, however, that these correlations are explanatory only if the deletion rate of preceding modifiers is very low. In order to ascertain if this is the case, I compared the deletion rate for the first adjective in the noun phrase (for the most part determiners) with the rate for all other adjectives, with presumably redundant plural markers.

TABLE II: Modifiers

Adjectives	_____C	_____V	_____11
1st	3%	2%	5%
Norm	23%	40%	65%
Others	39%	51%	71%

The /s/ which is preserved most often is the first plural marker encountered in surface structure.

The only other item to be discussed is the matter of the vowel quality adjustment. The No Ordering principle of NGP predicts that there are two and only two possiblilities. First, the rule of Vowel Quality i.e., open vowels in closed syllables and closed vowels in open syllables, is productive and applies in random order, i.e., after the rule of deletion. From my preliminary studies this seems to be the case in Cuban Spanish. Cedergren is at present, studying the problem in Panamanian Spanish. Another possibility is for the rule of vowel quality to become morphologized, i.e., unproductive phonetically, and used as a device for the marking of the plural morpheme. This seems to be the case for a part of Andalucia where the index of Deletion, a variable rule in that dialect also, is approaching 100%. Cuban appears, at this point at least, to have selected the first

alternative: the rule of deletion is grammatically constrained to preserve the first plural marker in the noun phrase.

This latter example is of great importance, I believe, since it illustrates the danger of basing a metatheoretical point on second hand data or, as in this case, none at all. From this point of view, I would like to suggest that the No Ordering constraint is not just a constraint but also a methodological guideline which says assume nothing about rule ordering until you have empirical data to back up your claims.

SUMMARY

We have been in two cases from Spanish, stress assignment and deletion of word final /s/, that the No Ordering constraint forces us to posit concrete analyses. I have presented evidence from dialect development to show that these concrete analyses correspond to what native speakers have actually done. In the case of stress assignment, the historic drift toward paradigmatic stress is explained by the morphological analysis which we are forced to make by the constraint of NGP but which could have been avoided by AGP. In the case of aspiration and deletion, NGP makes two predictions. The rule of vowel quality is morphologicalized as in parts of Andalucia. The rule of vowel quality is productive and intrinsically ordered after deletion. This possibility is realized in the Caribbean dialects.

NOTES

[1] The origins of AGP can be traced to three articles: Morris Halle "On the Basis of Phonology" and "Phonology in Generative Grammar" and Chomsky's monograph "Current Issues in Linguistic Theory," all of which are reprinted in the J. Katz and J. Foder volume Philosophy of Language (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1964).

[2] His paper, "How Abstract Is Phonology" was never published but was widely read; available from the Indiana University Linguistics Club.

[3] There are so many articles on this topic now that it would be difficult to list them all. Perhaps one of the more influential was the article by A. Koutsoudas, Gerald Sanders, and Craig Noll, "On the Application of Phonological Rules," in Language 50:1 (March 1974), 1-28, although their position is more liberal than that of NGP to be discussed here.

[4] See for example "Phonological Uniqueness in Natural Generative Grammar," Glossa 6.105-116 (1971); "Rule Inversion," Lingua 29. 209-242; "Phonological Concreteness in Natural Generative Grammar" in Shuy and Bailey's Towards Tomorrow's Linguistics (Washington: Georgetown University Press, 1973); and Joan Hooper's UCLA Ph.D. dissertation Aspects of Natural Generative Grammar, to be published by Academic Press.

[5] See the Papers from the Parasession on Natural Phonology (Chicago: Chicago Linguistics Society, April 1974).

6 For example all of the research done for Spanish dialects which has been based on a generative model has adhered to NGP constraints and not APG. This would include the work done on Puerto Rican Spanish by Roxana Ma and Elenore Herasimchuk in Joshua Fishman's Bilingualism in the Barrio (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1972), the work done on Panamanian Spanish reported in Henrietta Cedergren's Cornell University Ph.D. dissertation The Interplay of Social and Linguistic Constraints in the Spanish of Panama (1973) and Terrell's work on Cuban Spanish (see for example "Functional Constraints on Deletion of Word Final /s/ in Cuban Spanish," to appear in the Proceedings of the First Berkeley Annual Linguistics Conference, 1975, and "Aspiración y elisión en el español de Cuba--implicaciones para una teoría dialectal," to appear in the Proceedings of the ALFAL Conference in Lima, Peru, 1975). If one examines Labov's work on English phonology, it is obvious that there are no extrinsic ordering constraints even in the most complex areas of his data. See for example his work on sound change in progress in the volume by the same name, Sound Change in Progress, published by the U.S. Regional Survey, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1973.

7 A good discussion of other areas of differences is found in S. Shane's "How Abstract is Abstract?" in the Chicago Linguistics Society Parasession volume, pp. 297-317 (although I do not agree with his conclusions).

8 The famous (or infamous) Aspects of Phonological Theory (Harper and Row, 1968), in which Postal claimed to have shown that the phoneme was not a necessary or even desirable part of phonological theory.

9 Some of the arguments are reviewed in Alvin Cearley's paper for the Chicago Linguistics Society Parasession entitled "The Only Phonological Rule Ordering Principle."

10 Consider for example the phonological rule which is actively merging /o/ with /a/ in much of the U.S.; or rules which monophthongize diphthongs, e.g. /ay/ → [aˤː] ; or rules which diphthongize monophthongs such as /æ/ raising or the Southern /I/ →[Iə]; and countless more, some of which are mentioned in Sledd's "Umlaut, Breaking, and Southern Drawl," reprinted in J. Williamson and V. Burke, editors, A Various Language (Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1971).

11 Noam Chomsky and Morris Halle, The Sound Pattern of English (Harper and Row, 1968).

12 "Phonetic Explanation in Phonology," in the Chicago Paresession, pp. 251-275.

13 Spanish Morphology, MIT Ph.D. dissertation (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1965).

14 James Harris, Spanish Phonology (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1969).

[15] It is important to note that whereas APG admits, in principle, either analysis, NGP forces us to choose the latter, since stress assignment could not be extrinsically before a phonetic tenseness adjustment rule. That is, since stress assignment is NOT correlated with surface tension, NGP claims that it is impossible for the native speaker to formulate such a correlation, abstract or otherwise.

[16] Joan Hooper and Tracy Terrell, "Stress Assignment in Spanish: A Natural Generative Analysis," ms., University of California, Irvine, California.

[17] See Hooper's dissertation.

[18] Sol Saporta, "Ordered Rules, Dialect Differences, and Historical Processes," Language 41 (1965), 218-224.

[19] Washington Vasquez, "El fonema /s/ en el español de Uruguay" Revista de la Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias, No. 10 (Montevideo, Uruguay, 1951).

[20] Tomás Navarro-Tomás, "Dédoublement des phonèmes dans l'andalou" (1939) in Etudes phonologiques dediées à la mémoire de M. Le Prince N.S. Trubetzkoy (Alabama Press: 1964).

[21] Dámaso Alonso, Alonso Zamora Vicente, María Josef Canellada de Zamora, "Vocales Andalusas," Nueva revista de filología hispánica 4:3 (1950), 209-230.

[22] Hooper, UCLA dissertation.

[23] See footnote 6.

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SYNCHRONIC ETYMOLOGIES OF ETHNONYMS AS CAUSE OF THE TRADITIONAL BELIEF IN MONSTROUS RACES

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For $6.95 a bookseller in New York will rush you a "photo-packed" volume on Very Special People[1] with amazing stories of the "Elephant Man" and his friends "the giants, dwarfs, hermaphrodites, and numerous other human oddities." The medieval predecessors of this book also described people with feathers or furs, with tails or horns, with spider-legs, horse feet, webbed toes, and so on. The ever-present possibility of anatomical aberrations, the instinctive human fear of and fascination for such prodigies, the equally human foible for barbaric tales ridiculing unknown foreigners, provide the timeless psychological basis for the belief in human monsters. I would like to investigate with you today if language itself might not have, in part, caused such superstitions; in other words, if we are not dealing here with etiological legends.

I have to leave it to followers of C. G. Jung to explain the archetypal and magic-mystical origin of zoomorph deities and mythological beings, nor am I competent to comb through Old Vedic literature for allusions to monstrous races. I will follow only a third possible source of the western belief in legendary tribes: folk-etymologies of more or less corrupt ethnonyms.

Let me give you an example right away: Greek travellers to India might have contacted the tribe called Prāsia; their descriptive name is the Sanskrit word meaning 'dwellers in the east'. For a monolingual Greek this name was unmotivated, arbitrary; but by paronomastic association it reminded him of his own word πράσιος meaning 'green'. Given the deep rooted belief in a transcendental connection between name and thing, and that the etymology of the signifier is the key to the physis of the signified, the unknown Prasians were from then on thought of as being of green color. Centuries later, in Latin or medieval vernacular treatises, the reason behind the association between prasii and 'green' was again opaque. The proper name, once more unmotivated, was then often dropped, popular authors being interested only in the fancy story. Brunetto Latini, for instance, states in his Tresor from 1265 simply: "Les gens ki habitent entor le fleuve Indus devers midi sont de verde coulor" (I,122,20).[2]

'Green people' are, of course, not easy to depict in drawings or sculptures; nor are those who stare all day long into the sun,[3] or those who are born grey, but die with dark hair. But a sciapode, for instance, is a very inviting object for an artist. Again, explorers may have heard of an Asian tribe whose name, in a strange

language, sounded to them something like /skiapod/. Searching for a meaning behind these sounds, they analysed them as representing the Greek stem σκιά 'shadow' and ποδ , 'foot.' - But 'shadow-foot' doesn't make sense! - Why not? A foot large enough to serve as an umbrella... a good idea in those hot countries! And so, there he is, our sciapode, on medieval church portals, miniatures, maps,[4] and in all the books dependent on Pliny, Solinus, Isidore, and many others.

Another race with only one leg are the Monocoloi. They may owe their existence to a purely phonetic etymology of their now forgotten original name as consisting of the Greek words μόνος, 'one,' and κῶλον, 'limb.' This same name was also identified paretymologically with Greek μόνος and Latin oculum, suggesting a race with only one eye. The Arimaspoi also have only one eye. Herodotus explains their name as consisting of the two Skythian words σοιμα , 'one,' and σπου, 'eye'. Fifteen centuries later, a Byzantine commentator again analysed this same name; but he states that in Skythian ορι meant 'one,' and μασπός 'eye.'[5] Both writers were probably just guessing, succumbing to the perennial urge to explain unknown foreign names by the traditional 'divide-and-conquer' method.

Other people have their face right on their chest, having no head at all. They represent the Blemyes. The name seemed related to the Greek stem βλεμ 'to look,' 'eye,' plus ωμ , 'shoulder.' The relative opaqueness of the name explains its many medieval variants like Blembi, Blegmiae, Bleptae, Lemniae, etc. The face might be reduced to just eyes: on the chest, on the shoulder, or in the back. Sir Walter Raleigh discovered such a headless nation on the Amazon.[6] The rationalizing 17th century, however, believed that such stories were based on early contacts with anthropoid apes.

Then there are the Cynocephali, people with heads like dogs. Marco Polo met them on the Andaman Islands,[7] Ibn Battuta in Burma, Columbus in the West Indies, ...and they were last seen in Siberia in 1549.

How to explain these strange but persistent reports of monstrous races? The history of such interpretations is in itself a fascinating chapter in the odyssey of the Western mind: portents and prodigies, living proof of God's unfathomable wisdom, personifications of moral concepts, misunderstandings of early reports of totemism, tattooing or other body deformation, generalizations of teratological phenomena, etc. The most common opinion among modern historians and classicists is that these fabulous stories are of literary origin, based on Old Indian epics of times beyond our historical reach, but faithfully recorded by Greek writers prepared for these ideas by their own conceptions such as satyrs, sirens, harpies, etc.[8] Consequently, the Greek names for those monstrous races are just literal translations of descriptive 'Indian' designations.

It seems to me that the answer might be more complex, but also not entirely lost in prehistory. One incessant linguistic force could have played a crucial role in the development of these superstitions: the urge to incorporate foreign terms into the purposely limited but efficient stock of sememes of a given language through associative etymology. It is my contention that often the name of a tribe has been analysed synchronically, linking it with words or forms of a different or changed language. The folk-etymology could have been made at any time, in any language; other languages might then simply translate the newly motivated name. What was the uncorrupt name of the tribe? What did it mean in its original language? When and in what language has it been 'etymologized'? The first step towards answering these questions, I think, is an inventory of those marvelous races and their names. So, let us proceed with our list.

The Astomi have no mouth, as says their name ἀ-στόμα. They survive by sniffing fruits and flowers. The Otóliknoi[9] on the other hand are 'all ears': /ōt/ recalis the Greek word for 'ear,' οὖς - ὠτός, and ὁλικῶς means 'all over.' The Himantopodes or 'strap-feet,' (ἱμαντ-, 'thong plus ποῦς-ποδος, 'foot') crawl instead of walking; just as the Artobatites walk (root βαιν-βατ) bent on all four 'arthritic' or stiff (Latin arto) limbs. The Egibani have goats' feet: their name too contains the root βαιν, 'to walk,' combined with a latinization of the stem αἰγ, 'goat.' The race with an extended upper or lower lip but without nostrils were called Amukteres, that is ἀ-μυκτῆρης, 'no nose,' by Strabo, and Sciritae by Pliny, the stem σκιρρ - meaning 'hardened swelling.' In the Middle Ages they came to symbolize mischief, according to Psalm CXL,9: "Let the mischief of their own lips cover them."

Homer talks in Iliad 13,6 about the Αβιοι; they reappear in later authors as Essenes, identified by modern philologists with the people of Qumrân. However, the stories told about them seem to me due to a double interpretation of /abii/ as Greek α-βιον, 'nothing to live on,' or as a form of Latin ab-ire, 'to go away.' In the already quoted Tresor we learn that "les hesseniiens ... se desovirent des gens ... et vivent del palmis," 'the Essenes separated themselves from human company and survive by eating palm leaves.' I quote again the Tresor because its Old Catalan translation offers several good and typical examples of the many dangers inherent in the transmission of unmotivated names. In this case the careless translator did not recognize French "hesseniiens" as an ethnonym: succumbing to a paronomastic attraction he puts down the nonsense "les ensenyeres," 'women teachers.'[10] Another example: a certain Asian tribe is called in Latin texts Gangaridae. The relationship with the river Ganges seems obvious enough, but several manuscripts of the Tresor, and its Catalan translation, read Gambaride. What would prevent a speaker of a Romance language where 'legs' are called

"gambe" from relating this tribe to those races with peculiar lower extremities, reinforcing old or creating new superstitions? Can we, today, avoid similar 'silly' thought-associations when hearing, for instance, the name of Canada's Dogribs? Given 'medieval' circumstances, would this tribe develop into a race of monsters? The Navajos owe their reputation among Mexicans for being dangerous cut-throats to the association of their name with Spanish navaja, 'rasor.' It would be interesting to search for similar, but now likely positive, prejudices among speakers of Romance languages concerning British Columbia's tribe of the Bella-Bella. What thought-associations do our linguistically ignorant and uninhibited contemporaries have with ethnonyms like Gros-ventres and Nez-percés, or rather /growinters/ and /nepurses/? What would happen to such opaque names over centuries of unchecked mispronunciations and repeated popular etymologizing?

I say repeated, because what at one stage of linguistic or cultural development made sense may become incomprehensible later on. The Antipodes offer a most striking example for this. The concept of people living opposite to us on the other side of our globe had become unthinkable already in St. Augustine's time (see De civitate Dei 16,9). The Middle Ages then reinterpreted the name as describing a race with heels in front and insteps and eight toes sticking out backwards, or with their feet upside down (Tresor I.122, 21).

This example, I think, shows quite well the intricate relationship between language and concept-formation: we think the way we do because of the structure of our inherited tongue; we force changes on our language because of changes in our thinking or way of life. Our language is indeed the store-house of the results of hundreds of years' analysis of the world. We continue this work using the imperfect tools left by our predecessors. We like to think that we are improving these tools to make the task easier for future generations. One of the most common procedures to 'simplify' our language on the lexical level is by giving a 'prima-vista' -meaning to heretofore opaque words, to motivate arbitrary sememes in order to help remember and visualize them: this we mostly achieve by folk-etymology.

The importance of synchronic paronomasiologic word-associations for semantic and even phonetic changes has been recognized long ago and I don't have to explain here the concepts involved.[11] Suffice it to remember that these phenomena are especially frequent in onomastics. Cayo Hueso, 'the Bone Island,' became "Key West," being at the west end of islands lined up like indentations on a key. Lake Success reminds us of the hopes directed to the temporary United Nations buildings on its shores, and no longer of its original Algonquian name Suksat. Any word too isolated in our vocabulary, too arbitrary, not protected by a large family of congeners which

mutually motivate their meaning, is in danger of being forgotten. Associated with other words, historically unrelated but at that given time of similar form, it will survive; its meaning, however, will come under strong influence from its new associates. Old French "crevice" became English crawfish, even though it is not a fish. The whip-poor-will is also called 'goat-sucker,' even though it lives strictly on insects. Its Greek name αἰγοθήλας, of unknown origin, has been changed into αἰγοθήλας and then literally translated into Latin capri-mulgus, spreading with the name the superstition.[12] The antelope, its name having been analysed in the medieval Physiologus as 'anti-lion' or 'anti-wolf,' became a legendary animal of marvellous courage. The gentian "centaurium" has been associated, at a time when the Centaurs were forgotten, with the words cent-aureum, understood as 'a hundred gold pieces': so, if you want to get rich, put some in your pocket. Goddess Aphrodite was born of the foam of the sea. Why? Because her name reminded the Greek of the word ἀφρός, 'foam.' Just as god Lykos was associated with 'light' or 'wolf,' the meanings of the two Greek homophones λυκός; the name, however, is of a pre-Greek language perhaps Etruscan.[13]

Clearly, many old and new superstitions can be explained as folk-etymologies. I would like to submit to discussion my suggestion that this might also be the case with some of the classical and medieval stories of monstrous races.

NOTES

1. By Frederick Drimmer, (New York: Broadway Bookfinders, s.d.).

2. Ed. Francis James Carmody, Univ. of Calif. Publ. in Modern Philology, XXII (Berkeley, 1948; reed. facs. 1974). I myself published the Old Catalan translation of the Tresor: vol. I, Els Nostres Clàssics CII (Barcelona: Barcino, 1971).

3. Their name, Gymnosophists, 'nude philosophers,' is not descriptive of their most remarkable characteristic, and was already opaque to the illustrators.

4. See Marcel Destombes, ed., Mappemondes, A.D. 1200 - 1500, "Imago Mundi," Suppl. IV (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1964), p. 168 and 214 (plate 32); or George Herbert Kimble, Geography in the Middle Ages (reed. New York: Russel & Russel, 1968), plates 6 and 15.

5. Both quotes in Henry Estienne, Theasaurus Graecae Linguae (reed. facs. Graz: 1954), vol. II, p. 1948. Herodotus σπού, 'eye,' reminds us of the Latin root spec-, 'to see,' methathesis compared with the Greek σκεπ-, σκοπ-.

6. The Discovery of Guiana (1595), in Richard Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations ... of the English Nation (reed. Glasgow: 1904), p. 406.

7. See rep. in Albert Bettex, The Discovery of the World (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1960), p. 31, (original German ed., p. 78).

8. Rudolf Wittkower, "Marvels of the East. A Study in the History of Monsters," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Inst. V. (London: 1942), pp. 159-197. Wittkower in his well-illustrated paper, traces the literary history of these tales from Ktesias and Megasthenes to Strabo (mainly XV, i,57), Pliny the Elder (mainly VII,ii,21-30; V,vii,48), Solinus (19,8), Capella, Isidore (XI,3), Rhabanus, Mandeville, etc., showing especially the continuity of pictorial types down to recent pamphlets.

9. For an illustration see Emile Mâle, L'art religieux du XII^{e} siècle en France (Paris: A. Colin, 1922), p. 331.

10. Equally bad is the Old Spanish translation of this passage: "los femineos, que quiere dezir, omnes que son syn mugeres " (ined.; Bibl. Nac. de Madrid, MS 3380, f. 47^{v}).

11. For a recent reassessment of the field see Kurt Baldinger, "Zum Einfluss der Sprache auf die Vorstellung des Menschen; Volksetymologie und semantische Parallelverschiebung," Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften; Philol. - hist. Klasse, II (1973); summarized in French in Revue de Ling. Romane, XXXVII (1973), pp. 241-273.

12. Cf. Walter von Wartburg, Problems and Methods in Linguistics (Engl. transl., Oxford: Blackwell, 1969), p. 124. Other examples and more references in Stephen Ullmann, The Principles of Semantics (2nd ed., Glasgow: Blackwell, 1959), p. 91, 237, 305, and Semantics; an Introduction (Oxford: Blackwell, 1962), p. 101, 220 s.

13. For bibliographical references see Baldinger, "Zum Einfluss, " p. 6 and 9.